

# Japan's Ruling Party Wins Big Majority in Parliament

By Sam Jameson

With returns for 506 of the 511 seats in the House of Representatives counted, the unofficial results gave the Liberal Democrats 284 seats. The lower house must be convened by July 21 to elect a successor to Premier Masayoshi Ohira, who died of a heart attack on June 12.

Going into the election, the Liberal Democrats held a three-seat majority, their thinnest ever, in the House of Representatives.

A majority of as many as 29 seats would enable the Liberal Democrats to regain majority control of all committees in the powerful House of Representatives, considerably strengthening their power to enact legislation.

It is the first time since 1969 that the Liberal Democrats have scored gains in a national election. Early returns in the House of Councilors election, which was held simultaneously with the lower house ballot for the first time in Japan's history, also pointed to gains for the conservatives in the upper chamber, where they had held a two-seat majority. Although it lacks an effective voice in selecting a premier, the upper house must approve all bills except the national budget and treaties.

With 85 of 126 races in the upper house decided, the Liberal Democrats have won 54 seats and the Socialists 13, with the rest going to candidates of other parties and independents. Half of the 252 seats in the upper house were at stake.

## Heavy Turnout

With dry weather throughout most of the nation, 74.5 percent of the voters went to the polls. This was 6.5 percent more than last Oct. 7, when heavy rain throughout Japan was blamed for at least part of the ruling party's setback in the last House of Representatives election.

Yesterday's turnout was the largest for a House of Representatives election since 1958 and the fourth best turnout since World War II. In urban areas, the voter surge was even greater than the national average. An added 14.3 percent of the registered voters went to the polls in Tokyo, compared with last fall.

The sudden death of Ohira in the midst of the campaign, the unprecedented simultaneous vote for both houses and the narrowed margin of ruling party majorities going into the election also were factors in the high voter interest.

Most political analysts had predicted that a large turnout would favor the Liberal Democrats and other parties whose supporters are less tightly organized than those of the Communists and the neo-Buddhist Komeito Party.

## Socialists About Even

The No. 1 opposition party, the Socialists, who were threatened with losses, were just about holding their own. Middle-of-the-road parties, the Komeito and the Democratic Socialist parties, and the splinter conservative group, the New Liberal Club, were more than doubling its pre-election strength of four seats.

In the House of Representatives, the Socialists, who had held 107 seats at dissolution, had elected 104 candidates; the Komeito Party 33, the Democratic Socialists 32, the Communists 28 and candidates for other parties 15.

Ten independents were also elected.



Indira Gandhi sat in mourning in an open car as it carried the body of her son from the New Delhi hospital yesterday.

# Sanjay Gandhi Dies In Stunt-Plane Crash

NEW DELHI, June 23 (AP) —

Sanjay Gandhi, heir-apparent to an Indian political dynasty ruled by his mother, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, was killed today along with his flight instructor in the crash of their light stunt plane. Witnesses said the plane stalled during a series of aerobatic loops and plummeted into a clump of trees.

The grandson of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, Mr. Gandhi was one of his mother's closest advisers.

India's Vice President Mohammed Hidayatullah said the country was "shattered" by the death. Many shops in the capital closed as news of the crash spread and people gathered to discuss it.

Mr. Gandhi, 33, who is survived by a wife and infant son, is to be cremated tomorrow after a funeral service.

## Crashes Near Airport

Mr. Gandhi, who started flying in 1976 and received his license the following year, was pronounced dead at a hospital along with Capt. Subash Saxena, chief instructor of the Delhi Flying Club.

The U.S.-built Pitts S-2A biplane crashed near the Safdarjung Airport, a small field in southern New Delhi near the official residence of the prime minister.

Mrs. Gandhi was taken to the scene, cordoned off by hundreds of



Sanjay Gandhi

police, and later went to the hospital where she was seen trying to comfort the mother of the instructor, Mr. Saxena.

It was not immediately known who had control of the plane when it crashed. The government ordered an immediate investigation.

Mr. Gandhi was a prematurely balding man who favored the homespun cotton clothes popularized by Indian independence leaders such as his grandfather, Nehru. His name stirred deep emotion among Indians, ranging from bitter dislike to blind adoration.

Opposition leaders charged that Mrs. Gandhi was grooming her son as a successor, which she denied. Nonetheless his critics referred to him as the "crown prince," even as he stood trial in a number of criminal cases.

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## Summit Ends in Venice

# Western Leaders Agree On Broad Energy Plan

By Joseph Fitchett

VENICE, June 23 (IHT) — Leaders of the seven major industrial democracies announced today that they will press ahead with anti-inflation policies despite mounting social problems, including unemployment, and will cut their countries' dependence on oil significantly in this decade.

The energy crisis — including the problem of relief for debt-burdened developing countries — dominated the last day of the two-day economic summit. The international commitments reinforced existing policy trends in the participating countries: Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, the United States and West Germany.

Declaring the need to "break the link between oil consumption and economic growth," the leaders agreed on a list of energy goals, including a doubling in coal production over the next 10 years.

While the final declaration today covered only economic matters, Western leaders continued to debate the political implications of the Soviet announcement yesterday of a withdrawal of some troops from Afghanistan.

President Carter reacted cautiously to the Soviet announcement, telling reporters that it covered less than 10 percent of the Soviet forces and that the units included in the withdrawal remained on Afghanistan's borders.

Suggesting that the announcement may have been a political ploy to ease the Soviet position, President Carter said that its timing, on the summit's eve, enabled Western nations to react with a common front and demonstrated that Moscow cannot drive a wedge between the United States and its European allies.

Mr. Carter sounded much more conciliatory toward European views than he had in recent White House statements. He said that the meeting in Warsaw between President Valery Giscard d'Estaing of France and the Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, had proved productive and enabled Soviet leaders to hear what Mr. Carter called unvarnished Western views.

The president said he was sure that the two-day visit of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany to Moscow next week would be fruitful.

Mr. Carter moved closer to European insistence on talking to Moscow in seeking a solution in Afghanistan. He said the United States does not have to be the country to do the negotiating, implying that European involvement was welcome. He added that European statements on the Middle East apparently have not harmed the Camp David peace process.

## Appear Satisfied

The seven leaders, in their closing remarks to the press, sounded satisfied at the public harmony emerging from the meeting, the first Western summit this year. But despite the unity in a statement yesterday insisting on full Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, differences persisted in interpreting the latest Soviet move.

Mr. Giscard d'Estaing said today that "a significant Soviet military withdrawal" is under way. A Giscard aide disputed the assessment of some other countries at the summit, notably Britain, that the Soviet Union had carried out a troop buildup prior to announcing a minor withdrawal. Mr. Giscard d'Estaing said he was satisfied.

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Western reporters were expelled from Afghanistan early this year and the Soviet reports could not be independently confirmed.

Official diplomatic sources in Kabul said today that Soviet troops have begun to withdraw. Despite the move, Soviet troops were highly visible in Kabul, where merchants continued a citywide strike to protest the Soviet presence.

Witnesses said at least two shopkeepers have been killed by "rebel forces" for refusing to take part in the strike organized by the city's guerrilla movement.

About 20,000 Russians, including soldiers, advisers, truck drivers and clerks, are in Kabul in what appeared to be a steady increase of reinforcements in recent weeks, diplomats said.

starting, talking to reporters, said that he had no guarantee of what subsequent action Moscow intended.

In conversations, U.S. officials said the Carter administration is cautiously examining the possibility that the Soviet Union might be

starting to compromise on Afghanistan.

Although the statement by the Western leaders contained no concrete commitment to tougher opposition to the Soviet Union, as the

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President Carter listening yesterday during press conference at Western summit in Venice. Behind him are Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, right, and Treasury Secretary William Miller.

# Schmidt Outlined to Carter Goals of His Moscow Trip

By James Reston

VENICE, June 23 (NYT) — Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany outlined to President Carter and the other leaders at the Venice summit conference here the principles that he intends to follow when he meets with President Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union in Moscow at the end of the month.

His main points, confirmed in an interview, were as follows:

• Despite his differences with President Carter, which the West German leader expressed in a private 40-minute address to the U.S. delegation at the beginning of the conference, Chancellor Schmidt said that he would make quite clear in Moscow that the Soviet government could not hope to use West Germany in any way to divide the Western alliance.

• Chancellor Schmidt would try to persuade Mr. Brezhnev and the other Soviet leaders that a secure military balance in Europe and in the world was essential if Moscow expected the West to follow a policy of cooperation in other fields.

• The West German leader would emphasize that the "military balance" applied specifically to the construction of NATO military sites and the deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons — the U.S. Cruise missiles and the modernized Pershing missiles.

• Chancellor Schmidt would also state as firmly as possible that the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan was unacceptable to West Germany.

• West Germany would not only stand by its commitments to its allies, but would also be faithful to the Helsinki agreements and to Bonn's economic agreements with the Soviet Union, East Germany and the Eastern European states.

U.S. officials said they were reassured by this summary of the West German chancellor's definition of his Moscow agenda. The officials had been vaguely apprehensive about the Schmidt-Brezhnev meeting, especially after the French president, Valery Giscard d'Estaing, had surprised Washington by meeting with Mr. Brezhnev in Poland, and after the Western Europeans had met here last week and differed with the Carter administration about how to deal with the crisis in the Middle East.

## Troubled by a Letter

Mr. Schmidt arrived in Venice obviously troubled by a letter that he had received from President Carter. The letter indicated that Mr. Schmidt might be departing from his agreement to prepare sites for the Cruise and Pershing missiles, and urged the West German to stand by the policies agreed upon in the past.

Swiss, Swedish Talks

STOCKHOLM, June 23 (Reuters) — Swiss Foreign Minister Pierre Abert had talks today with Swedish Foreign Minister Ola Ullsten on the possibility of a European disarmament conference and the strategy of neutral states in East-West relations.



Mr. Morita (front right), son-in-law of the late Premier Yoshiki Ohira, waves with supporters after winning Ohira's seat in the Japanese parliamentary election. Kneeling beside him is his wife, who is holding a portrait of her father.

# Thailand Reports Attack Vietnamese at Border

By Henry Kamm

BANGKOK, June 23 (NYT) — The Supreme Military Command today said that a foreign military unit, attacking a Cambodian village near the Thai border, spilled over into Thai territory this morning and remained for about 10 hours.

The command said that the "foreigners" were not given in the care of the Thai government, but that the intruders were Vietnamese. The command said that Thai forces were sent to attack the aggressors, "who left behind a trail of blood and death."

The Thai sources said that the intruders had killed during the attack many wounded. Thai reports here put the number of the "foreigners" at about 100.

The incident occurred at 5 a.m., when no foreigners were among the tens of thousands of Cambodian refugees on the border, and even well-informed senior diplomats were unable to piece together a precise picture of the event.

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receive the food and medical care that international relief organizations are providing. No solid information was available on the effects of the incursion on the principal border relief point, Nong Chan. Unconfirmed reports said that its population had been dispersed and Vietnamese were in occupation.

The camp, which is little more than a mile from the encampment opposite Non Mak Moon, has a resident population of about 8,000 and at any time harbors a population of perhaps 20,000 transients who come from the Cambodian interior for rice and rice seed.

International organization officials said today that the Thai government had received reports from the border that the intruders had killed during the attack many wounded. Thai reports here put the number of the "foreigners" at about 100.

# Begin Is Planning to Transfer His Office To East Jerusalem to Stress Sovereignty

By David K. Shipler

JERUSALEM, June 23 (NYT) — Prime Minister Menachem Begin has decided to move his office and the Cabinet's conference room to East Jerusalem, the largely Arab sector of the city captured by the Israeli Army in the 1967 war, a government official said yesterday.

The transfer, to be made in the next few months when a new office building is completed, is meant to symbolize the unity of Jerusalem under Israeli rule, the official said.

The status of East Jerusalem, which unlike the West Bank was annexed by Israel after the war, has been a focus of the Arab-Jewish conflict and is this week to be debated in the United Nations Security Council.

Most Western countries outside Latin America do not recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, and there is speculation that some foreign envoys and officials would find it awkward or impossible to call on the prime minister in the Arab part of the city, which Arab countries regard as occupied.

"If visiting ambassadors and functionaries and so on find it inconvenient to meet the prime minister [in East Jerusalem], then the prime minister will have to live his life without seeing them," an official said. "We don't consider demarcating our convictions about Jerusalem controversial," he added. "Jerusalem is different from Hebron because it has been annexed — it's part of Israel."

Under the plan, which the official said Mr. Begin first mentioned publicly more than a year ago, a new office building near the national police headquarters will be turned over to his staff of about 250 and to

the two deputy prime ministers, Yigael Yadin and Simcha Ehrlich.

The building is in the Sheikh Jarrah quarter of the city, a relatively open area on the northern edge of the capital, surrounded mostly by scattered stone houses in what were once small villages outside the city limits.

The municipal boundaries were extended by Israel to incorporate many of the Arab villages at the time of annexation.

At present the prime minister's office is in the western, or mainly Jewish, sector of Jerusalem, near the Old City.

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# Russia Says Troop Division Leaving Kabul

Withdrawal Is Estimated at Between 7,000 to 11,000 Soldiers

From Agency Dispatches

MOSCOW, June 23 — Radio Moscow announced today that a Soviet troop division, believed to have 7,000 to 11,000 men, and 108 tanks were being withdrawn from Afghanistan. That would leave about 75,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

It was the first time that the Kremlin has said how many of its troops were being withdrawn from the country at its southern border, where an estimated 85,000 Soviet troops were sent last December. Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev was quoted by Tass as saying that the troops were being withdrawn because life in Afghanistan is "gradually returning to normal."

## Pravda Report

But Mr. Brezhnev also was quoted as saying, "Naturally, we will continue to help Afghanistan create a new life and to secure the gains of the April [1978] revolution." The statement suggested that the Russians do not plan to comply with Western demands that they withdraw all their troops.

The Communist Party newspaper Pravda said today that tanks, armored personnel carriers and infantry already had begun withdrawing in keeping with the Kremlin's announced partial pullout from Afghanistan — a withdrawal that has been greeted with strong skepticism in the West.

Tass reported from Kabul yesterday that, "according to information from the command of Soviet military contingents now staying in Afghanistan, some army units whose stay in Afghanistan is not necessary at present are being withdrawn these days to the territory of the Soviet Union on agreement with the Afghan government."

In a followup labeled an eyewitness account from Kabul, Pravda correspondent L. Mironov described sunbathed Russian soldiers saying goodbye to Afghan villagers after a battle, and Communist Afghan rebels for six months and "fulfilling their international duty."

"Early this morning from the city's outskirts a long line of tanks and infantry began to stretch out. The residents of the villages and

towns came out to see them off. The Soviet and Afghan friends made their parting handshakes and embraces," Mr. Mironov said in a dispatch yesterday.

He said that, after all the farewells were said, the Soviet troops and war machines began their 300-mile journey home by road.

## At Summit

According to sources at the diplomatic summit in Venice, the Soviet statement that it was withdrawing troops "not necessary at present" was true since the withdrawing forces consisted of heavy armored units, some missile detachments and anti-aircraft crews not needed for fighting a protracted guerrilla war.

The Russians are believed to control Kabul and other major Afghan cities but are said to be facing increasing resistance there and sustaining growing losses in the mountainous countryside.

Tass said Afghan military commanders and local and foreign journalists attended ceremonies yesterday



## Khomeini Urges Unity

## Ghotbzadeh Sees Ruling On Hostages in 5 Weeks

PARIS, June 23 (UPI) — Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh said today that the newly elected Parliament, the Majlis, would be able to decide in "four or five weeks" what to do with the 53 American hostages.

Speaking in Paris in an interview on television, Mr. Ghotbzadeh said that the United States would have to make economic and political concessions to secure the release of the hostages. He is "rather optimistic" about the Majlis' decision, he said, adding, "The Americans have not done anything foolish in the past two months."

Previous statements by officials in Iran have indicated that the Majlis might not consider the hostage question until September. But Mr. Ghotbzadeh said it would take up the question after completing its first tasks, which he said included choosing a parliamentary president and electing supreme court justices.

The new Parliament, which Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini has said will have the ultimate say on what happens to the hostages, failed to meet as scheduled today for lack of a quorum. Tehran radio said it would meet tomorrow. The broadcast, monitored by the BBC in London, said committees of the Majlis "continued their work today."

Tehran radio also reported that Sheikh Sadeq Khalkhali — who has been called "Iran's hanging judge" — had condemned six persons to death on charges of drug trafficking and leading young people into prostitution. The broadcast said the sentences were carried out today.

Ayatollah Khomeini meanwhile urged an end to political squabbling between President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr and Moslem fundamentalist rivals. The ayatollah made no mention of the American hostages.

His plea for unity, in a speech before revolutionary guards, came after an Islamic judge said yesterday that officers had plotted with Kurdish rebels and the government of Iraq to prepare an invasion to overthrow the government of Iran.

**Kurds Killed**

Islamic judge Hojatolislam Mohammad Rezaei said a news conference that some army men — "only a small number" — had plotted with Iraq and Kurdish rebels to disarm army garrisons as a step toward a coup d'etat. He heads a three-judge panel trying seven officers and noncommissioned officers on charges of conspiring to overthrow the regime.

The official Pars news agency reported today that five Kurdish insurgents were killed near the Kurdish town of Paveh in clashes with government forces. "The insurgents set fire to a wheat field, but were dispersed by local people," the reports said. "There were no reports of any casualties among the military."

Ayatollah Khomeini, in his first public comment on the political differences between his president and the fundamentalist Dr. Hassan Ayat, said he was distressed that the fighting was aired publicly. He alluded to a text published by Mr. Bani-Sadr's journal Islamic Revolution of a taped conversation last week between Dr. Ayat and an unidentified student, which was alleged to prove that there was a plot to overthrow Mr. Bani-Sadr.

"All of you should be unified and brotherly and go forward under God, then victory will be with you," Ayatollah Khomeini said. "It is said that revolutionary guards have attacked the people and gone to people's homes without any reasons. I don't know if it is true, but in all things we should act according to Islamic principles." He stressed repeatedly that the Islamic character of his revolutionary movement should be protected.

**Chirac Bars Soviet Visit**

PARIS, June 23 (Reuters) — Gaullist Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac told the municipal assembly today that he had rejected an invitation to attend the Olympic Games sent to him by the city of Moscow.



President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France standing in motorboat yesterday on route to San Giorgio Island, site of the Venice summit conference. Behind his boat is a security patrol.

## Allies Move to Cut Oil Use In Broad Energy Program

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Carter administration would have liked, the show of allied unity has been welcomed by U.S. officials.

**British Reaction**

The most skeptical public reaction about Soviet motives came from British leaders. Lord Carrington, Britain's foreign secretary, said that the Soviet message was intended to dilute Western efforts to boycott the Moscow Olympics.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said that the West gave "a clear, strong and decisive response" to the Soviet overture in its statement yesterday.

Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Carter were the only leaders to mention Afghanistan in their speeches preceding the summit's final declaration.

Mr. Schmidt, in a briefing for reporters, said that he will not have any mandate from the Western allies when he visits Moscow. But he sought the other leaders' views about the topics to be discussed with Mr. Brezhnev and will inform them about his discussions on his return, he said.

With the improved political tone among the allies, even greater cohesion emerged on economic issues, with the group managing to complete its summit discussions ahead of schedule.

The centerpiece of the final declaration was an outline for energy development, but the leaders said that "reduction of inflation is our immediate top priority." The declaration — which made only a passing reference to unemployment, saying that it must be solved by future growth, not government spending — stressed the need for tight policies of economic restraint as a basis for recovery and expansion.

It urged shifting resources from government spending to private investment, and it rejected moves to combat recession through protectionist aid for weak industries and through government deficits.

These commitments to concerted action will provide political support at home for all the leaders who met in Venice and who already are generally following these policies.

Summit participants agreed in advance to avoid discussions on international monetary reform because of the uncertainties about future oil prices. Mr. Schmidt warned here that the Western banking system is threatened by heavy borrowing by some developing countries to pay their oil import bills.

Energy problems were cited as the greatest threat to the economic outlook. "There is growing unanimity that a shortfall of oil supplies may be shaping up in the next 10 years beyond anyone's ability to cope unless we all act now," a U.S. official said. He said the shortage would result from declining production among members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the entry of Communist countries into oil markets, and the OPEC countries' growing consumption of their own oil.

The seven leaders therefore agreed to cut the amount of oil used in their national economies significantly by 1990 to "break the link between oil consumption and economic growth." The Western target is to reduce oil from 53 percent to only 40 percent of total energy consumption in 10 years.

To do this, Western nations plan to raise sharply their production of non-oil energy in this decade by doubling coal consumption, expanding nuclear energy and accelerating the development of synthetic fuels and other alternatives.

By 1990, this program should produce the equivalent of between 15 million and 20 million barrels of oil a day, the communiqué said. At present, these industrial countries consume about 30 million barrels of oil a day.

The summit also urged the World Bank to create a new facility to finance the search for oil in developing countries. Financing all these energy developments.

Western relations with OPEC occupied most of the discussions in Venice, according to several conference participants. The meeting reviewed suggestions for a summit, they said, involving a small number of countries representing the industrial nations, OPEC and the developing countries, along lines suggested in the Brandt commission's recent report.

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## Foreign Policy Concerns

## Importance of Carter Visit Emphasized by Yugoslavia

BELGRADE, June 23 (UPI) — Yugoslavia emphasized today the good relations between Washington and Belgrade and stressed the significance of President Carter's visit tomorrow — the first state visit by a leader since Tito's funeral early last month.

"The significance of the visit is so much greater as it takes place in aggravated international relations," Foreign Ministry spokesman Mirko Kalezić told a news conference.

"Both sides will explain their views on the present dangerous situation and how to surmount it," he said.

Mr. Kalezić's statement, as well as similar statements in Yugoslav media commentary, gave further indication that foreign policy — including the Afghanistan issue — as well as bilateral and economic relations will play a large role in Mr. Carter's two-hour official talks tomorrow and working breakfast Wednesday.

**Leading Officials**

Included in those Mr. Carter will meet are Cvjetko Mijatovic, president of the eight-man state presidium, Foreign Minister Josip Vrhovac and Premier Veselin Djuranovic, an economics specialist.

The list does not include any of the powerful figures within the ruling Communist Party, indicating that the official contacts will follow strict governmental protocol. U.S. sources, however, said that Mr. Carter "undoubtedly" will meet at least informally with some party leaders during his visit.

Mr. Kalezić said that Mr. Carter's visit "comes after a period of successful development of bilateral relations, particularly in recent years."

Although the countries have different stands on issues because of their positions as a superpower and a nonaligned nation, the daily Politika Ekspres said, "there are no outstanding problems in mutual Yugoslav-American relations."

**International Situation**

In editorials published in the major newspapers and by the national news agency Tanjug, Yugoslav commentators today pointed to the importance of foreign policy topics in the talks due to the international situation.

Yugoslavia has sharply criticized the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, although it did not join the U.S.-supported boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games.

In his statement today, Foreign Ministry spokesman Kalezić said that Yugoslavia supported the Soviet withdrawal of some troops from

Yugoslavia. "Every step is important which is directed toward creating a political solution and the right of every people to determine about their fate," he said.

The commentators also stressed the importance of economic links between the two countries, whose bilateral trade totaled about \$1.5 billion last year.

Yugoslavia imports about three times the value of goods it exports to the United States, contributing to its foreign trade deficit last year of more than \$6 billion.

**Begin Plans Office Move**

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The move is expected to complicate further the efforts under way to get Egypt back to the negotiating table, where talks are to resume next month on granting some measure of self-administration to the Palestinians under Israeli occupation.

President Anwar Sadat of Egypt broke off talks last month after a bill was introduced in the Knesset declaring Jerusalem Israel's eternal capital. It was backed by opponents of the peace treaty with Egypt, but it said nothing that successive Israeli leaders have not said. It was referred to committee.

**Arab Feelings**

Because Arab feelings about Jerusalem as one of Islam's holy cities run so high, Mr. Sadat has tried to take the issue into account in his peace efforts with Israel. He has insisted, for example, that the approximately 100,000 Arabs in East Jerusalem be allowed to vote for whatever Palestinian council emerges from the negotiations.

Israel has flatly refused, noting that this would equate Jerusalem residents, who live in annexed territory, with those in areas not annexed and that are governed by the military.

The goal of retaining all of Jerusalem is a touchstone of Israeli consensus. Only a tiny fraction of the extreme left advocates giving up part of the city for a peace agreement. East Jerusalem was annexed by a Labor Party government, and its status as the capital has been enhanced under Mr. Begin, who reveres it for both historic and religious reasons.

When Israeli paratroopers captured the Old City, with the Wall — believed to be a remnant of the second temple, destroyed by the Romans in A.D. 70 — the vow was made never to relinquish it.

Last March the Cabinet announced the confiscation of about 1,000 acres of mostly vacant, rolling land just north of the prime minister's new office for an additional Jewish neighborhood. The decision was assailed by the United States, which does not recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, and keeps its embassy in Tel Aviv, on the coast.

**Egypt Protests**

CAIRO, June 23 (UPI) — Egypt said today that the difficulties facing the negotiations on Palestinian autonomy will be compounded if Mr. Begin moves his office to East Jerusalem.

A front-page comment by the authoritative newspaper Al-Ahram charged that Mr. Begin appeared to be bent on undermining the negotiations. If reports of the transfer plan are true, it said, "they would mean that Begin does not want in any way to provide a chance for success of the autonomy negotiations."

Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamel Hassan Ali, Israeli Interior Minister Yosef Burg and U.S. Middle East envoy Sol Linowitz were to confer in Washington on July 2 and 3 on ways to revive the talks.

**Coalition in Danger**

JERUSALEM, June 23 (UPI) — Two members of the Knesset have decided to quit a party in the Begin government coalition, weakening his control of the Knesset and setting the stage for a government crisis, political sources said today.

If the two members of the moderate Democratic Movement stick to their decision, it would reduce Mr. Begin's mathematical majority in the 120-seat parliament to three votes — including those of former cabinet ministers Moshe Dayan and Ezer Weizman, who have left the government but retained their Knesset seats. Three other members of the coalition's parties have frequently been critical of government policy, and cannot necessarily be counted on in a confidence vote.

The general secretary of the Democratic Movement, Israel Granit, said Knesset members Shlomo Eliahu and Shafik Assad have told party leaders of their intention to form their own independent group in the Knesset. This would leave the Democratic Movement with only four seats, but three Cabinet portfolios.

"He has constituted himself as an extra-constitutional authority," charged Banarsi Das, the former chief minister of Uttar Pradesh.

He said that he would not have any mandate from the Western allies when he visits Moscow. But he sought the other leaders' views about the topics to be discussed with Mr. Brezhnev and will inform them about his discussions on his return, he said.

With the improved political tone among the allies, even greater cohesion emerged on economic issues, with the group managing to complete its summit discussions ahead of schedule.

The centerpiece of the final declaration was an outline for energy development, but the leaders said that "reduction of inflation is our immediate top priority." The declaration — which made only a passing reference to unemployment, saying that it must be solved by future growth, not government spending — stressed the need for tight policies of economic restraint as a basis for recovery and expansion.

It urged shifting resources from government spending to private investment, and it rejected moves to combat recession through protectionist aid for weak industries and through government deficits.

These commitments to concerted action will provide political support at home for all the leaders who met in Venice and who already are generally following these policies.

Summit participants agreed in advance to avoid discussions on international monetary reform because of the uncertainties about future oil prices. Mr. Schmidt warned here that the Western banking system is threatened by heavy borrowing by some developing countries to pay their oil import bills.

Energy problems were cited as the greatest threat to the economic outlook. "There is growing unanimity that a shortfall of oil supplies may be shaping up in the next 10 years beyond anyone's ability to cope unless we all act now," a U.S. official said. He said the shortage would result from declining production among members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the entry of Communist countries into oil markets, and the OPEC countries' growing consumption of their own oil.

The seven leaders therefore agreed to cut the amount of oil used in their national economies significantly by 1990 to "break the link between oil consumption and economic growth." The Western target is to reduce oil from 53 percent to only 40 percent of total energy consumption in 10 years.

To do this, Western nations plan to raise sharply their production of non-oil energy in this decade by doubling coal consumption, expanding nuclear energy and accelerating the development of synthetic fuels and other alternatives.

By 1990, this program should produce the equivalent of between 15 million and 20 million barrels of oil a day, the communiqué said. At present, these industrial countries consume about 30 million barrels of oil a day.

The summit also urged the World Bank to create a new facility to finance the search for oil in developing countries. Financing all these energy developments.

Western relations with OPEC occupied most of the discussions in Venice, according to several conference participants. The meeting reviewed suggestions for a summit, they said, involving a small number of countries representing the industrial nations, OPEC and the developing countries, along lines suggested in the Brandt commission's recent report.

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## WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

## ETA Deadline Passes; No Bombings Reported

MADRID, June 23 (Reuters) — Spanish police, the paramilitary Civil Guard and bomb disposal squads monitored tourist resorts today in reaction to threats by the Basque guerrilla organization ETA to bomb vacation areas.

ETA said Saturday it would begin intermittent bombings unless the government released 18 Basque prisoners and removed the warden of controversial jail by noon today. The government rejected the demand yesterday.

There were no reports of bombings or other incidents after the deadline passed. In a Basque separatist operation last summer, 14 bombs were set off at Spanish Mediterranean resorts, killing seven persons and injuring more than 100.

## Sobering Ankara Talks Due NATO Ministers

BRUSSELS, June 23 (Reuters) — When NATO foreign ministers meet in Ankara this week to assess relations in light of the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan, some sobering evaluations of detente are expected while keeping open the dialogue with Moscow to avoid a return to the Cold War, Western diplomats said.

Meeting in strategically situated Turkey, the alliance will prepare for the European security review conference in Madrid later this year and discuss how to revive East-West arms control negotiations now in the doldrums.

The Greek-Turkish dispute about control over the Aegean Sea and its related problem of Greece's re-entry into NATO's integrated military structure, which it left in 1974 following the Turkish intervention in Cyprus, will be uppermost in the participants' minds although it is not formally on the session agenda, the diplomats said.

## Thousands of S. Africa Car Workers Strike

JOHANNESBURG, June 23 — Strikes by thousands of African colored (mixed race) workers at South African car plants threaten a total shutdown of the industry, management sources said today.

The strikes in support of pay claims have coincided with South African worst riots in four years. Thirty-two persons were killed last week in rioting in the colored townships of Cape Town. Police said yesterday that about 10,000 workers were on strike from 16 car factories and other industrial plants in eastern Cape province.

The motor industry sources said about 3,500 strikers at a Volkswagen plant in Uitenhage, who stopped work a week ago, were maintaining the demand for a rise in the hourly basic rate from 1.15 rands (90 cents) to two rands (\$1.60). The local Ford and General Motors plants were also badly hit by continuing strikes, they said.

In Johannesburg, South African Police Minister Louis Le Grange today lifted a ban imposed last week on journalists and television crews that prevented them from entering the country's troubled black areas.

## 14 Women Win Seats in New Iraqi Assembly

BAGHDAD, June 23 (AP) — Fourteen women and three Cabinet ministers will sit in Iraq's new 250-member National Assembly, announced yesterday following Iraq's first parliamentary election since 1958.

Only five of the 19 women candidates in last Friday's election failed to win a seat. Victories for the women reflected President Saddam Hussein's intention to broaden women's rights in this male-dominated society, which has strong Islamic traditions.

The ruling Ba'ath Socialist Party has been granting women relative freedom. They now can hold jobs ranging from in posts in the Cabinet, parliament, police, doctors and television announcers.

## 26th Communist Party Congress Set for 1981

MOSCOW, June 23 (UPI) — A plenum of the Communist Party Central Committee set Feb. 23, 1981, as the date for the 26th Communist Party congress.

The last Communist Party congress convened in February, 1976. At the meeting, the party leadership elected to the Politburo Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov and sacked the minister of agriculture.

The plenum endorsed an agenda for the congress that includes speeches by President Leonid Brezhnev and Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin, both of whom have been absent for long periods in the last year and have been rumored ready to resign.

## 2 Israeli Soldiers Accused Of Plot to Bomb Mosques

JERUSALEM, June 23 (NYT) — Two Israeli soldiers were formally charged by military authorities today with conspiring to blow up mosques and Christian missionary institutions with explosives stolen from an army munitions depot.

The indictment came as the West Bank and Israel were rocked by a series of bombings, demonstrations and shootings that left three Jews and five Arabs injured.

A 22-year-old Arab woman from Bethlehem died early today from a gunshot wound inflicted Thursday when an Israeli border policeman fired what is said to have been an accidental burst from his automatic rifle. Her death set off a demonstration by Palestinian students at Bir Zeit University north of Jerusalem.

During which Israeli troops who were being stoned fired into the campus, hitting one student in the arm and slightly wounding four others with ricocheting bullets.

Earlier this morning, a pregnant Israeli woman was seriously injured by a bomb planted among bottles on an upper shelf in a grocery store in the Tel Aviv suburb of Pardes Katz. The grocer and a male customer were also hurt. Another woman went off harmlessly before being struck by a bus stop in a Jewish neighborhood of northeastern Jerusalem.

**Jewish Terrorism**

An Israeli soldier was reported still in serious condition after being shot in the eye Saturday while on patrol in Bethlehem.

Amid the escalating violence, the charges brought against the two soldiers took on special significance, representing the first time the authorities have had what they consider sufficient evidence of Jews plotting terrorist acts to go to trial.

The case apparently has no relation to the June 2 bombings that crippled two Palestinian mayors. The soldiers were already in jail at the time, and no arrests have been reported in those attacks.

The two, identified as acting officer Moshe Ben-Arye and Pvt. Arye Leibowitz, both 20, were arrested May 9 after the director of a yeshiva in the Jewish quarter of the Old

City of Jerusalem alerted police to the presence of suspicious packages and to the school's roof. They had shot and allegedly stockpiled 264 pounds of high explosive, 15 hand grenades, 14 rocket grenades, 160 yards of dynamite, one fuse and two detonators.

**Mosque Targets**

Two other Jews have been jailed, now without trial under administrative presidential orders for reportedly plotting to blow up Al-Aqsa mosque in Old City of Jerusalem on a Friday, when Jewish worshippers would be full of worshipers. The party's name was Rabbi Meir Kahane, the American-born leader of the rightist Kach movement, and Baruch Ben-Yosef. A judge has authorized their imprisonment for three months.

The army spokesman gave the details of the soldiers' alleged plot, but he excepted to say that their targets also would be full of worshippers. The party's name was Rabbi Meir Kahane, the American-born leader of the rightist Kach movement, and Baruch Ben-Yosef. A judge has authorized their imprisonment for three months.

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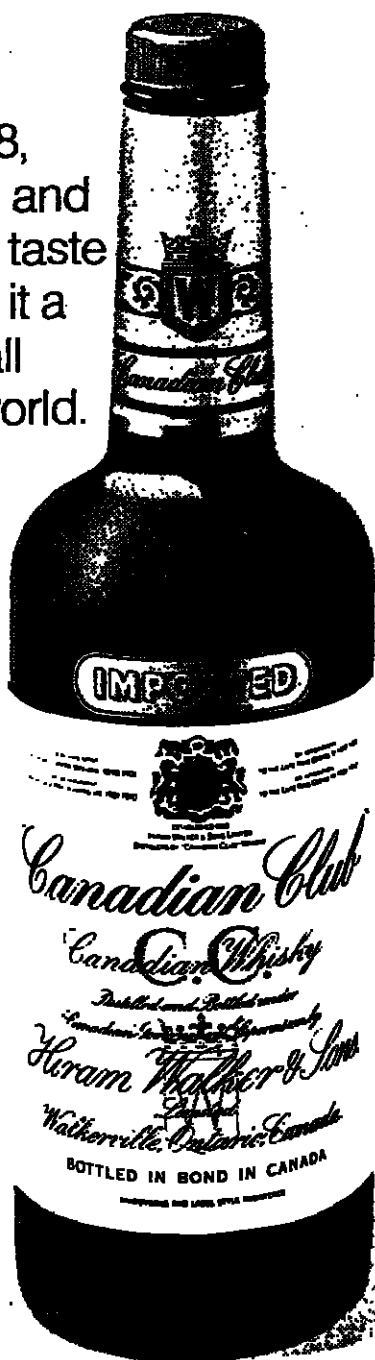
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Because of mechanical errors, an advertisement for the Ghanaian Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, that appeared in the IHT's June 16 ECOWAS supplement, contained inaccurate text. A corrective advertisement appears on page 4 in today's issue.

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## Democratic Panel Rejects Kennedy Economic Planks

By Robert G. Kaiser

WASHINGTON, June 23 (WP) — Delegates loyal to President Carter displayed their strength in the Democratic Party Platform Committee late last night, rejecting 149 of the basic economic proposals put forth by Mr. Carter's opponent, Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass.

The committee chairman, Col. Young, Detroit's mayor and a loyalist, established rules to debate, the committee heard a series of proposals on a broad range of fundamental economic issues from just speakers.

Gov. Thomas O'Neill 3d of Massachusetts made a brief, emotional plea for an immediate \$12-billion anti-recession jobs program, while wage and price controls were other elements of Sen. Kennedy's economic program.

"We're not about a restatement of values or the Democratic Party," Mr. O'Neill said. "How much higher unemployment can we tolerate?"

The 158 members of the platform committee seemed in no mood for political posturing and they voted predictably, Carter-Kennedy on Mr. O'Neill's motion.

Other delegates finally got a vote to vent some independent views, successfully challenging the dominant Carter forces on energy and abortion in draft subcommittees that can still be altered by the full committee before it completes work tomorrow.

### Join Forces

Independent-minded delegates led by Mr. Carter joined those supporting Sen. Kennedy to vote on an anti-nuclear power plank in the energy task force. And in the labor needs task force, a coalition of men supporting both candidates won a large majority for a plank that is substantially "pro-choice" than the Carter agenda would like.

These votes symbolized defeats for Carter campaign, and thus Kennedy delegates who had been hoping for some miracle under the verdict of the primaries and caucuses.

On two such emotional issues also symbolized the divisions between the Democrats this year. A tie vote in the foreign policy force on a proposed plank opposed construction of the mobile missile system. The tie was in favor of the MX by

the task force chairman, a representative of Democrats Abroad whose ballot has the value of only one-fourth of a vote.

On all other issues, the Carter majorities on the five task forces generally prevailed. The proposed planks of greatest concern to the Kennedy camp — immediate wage and price controls, an immediate \$12-billion anti-recession program and repositioning of oil price controls — were rejected handsily.

Carter campaign officials predicted that the platform committee would reject the anti-nuclear power plank approved by the energy task force. They were less certain that the full committee would retreat to the vague abortion language that the president prefers.

### Anti-Nuclear Fight

The anti-nuclear plank approved yesterday demonstrated how a coalition could be formed to override a presidential preference on the platform. The draft plank on nuclear energy, endorsed by the White House, had been essentially pro-nuclear.

A Carter delegate, Carrie Wasley of Minnesota, proposed the alternative — calling for an orderly phase-out of all nuclear plants and a moratorium on licensing new ones. With the support of Kennedy delegates and active lobbying by the Campaign for Safe Energy, it became apparent that the Wasley alternative had wide support.

The Carter delegation on the panel caucused with Stuart Eizenstat, President Carter's chief domestic adviser. Mr. Eizenstat pressed for a newly drafted alternative to the Wasley proposal that committed the party to the preferred use of conservation, coal and renewable energy sources for the future, but omitted the moratorium on new nuclear power plants and the phase-out of existing ones.

Mr. Wasley stood by her proposal, won over six other Carter delegates and prevailed on four others to abstain. The final vote was 17-10 in favor of her plank.

On the abortion proposal, instead of the draft platform language which said the Democratic Party regarded a constitutional amendment banning abortion as "not appropriate," the new language opposed the amendment and says the party recognizes the 1973 Supreme Court decision on abortion as "the law of the land."

## Effort Could Add Millions to Reagan Campaign

By Adam Clymer

WASHINGTON, June 23 (NYT) — At least four independent efforts designed to help Reagan, Republicans this year to create the good old campaign finance, when candidates had twice as much aid as the Democrats.

Democrats hope that the effort will backfire and appear tricky, illegal, and Common Cause, public affairs lobbying group played a key role in getting as to enact spending limits in elections, is looking for a go to court to stop the whole scheme as it can.

Reagan, now unsupported for public presidential nomination and the Democratic candidate will each get \$29.4 million from the Treasury for their campaign. Each party's national committee can spend another \$4.7 million.

That is where the equality is to stop. Four Republican are getting ready to help Mr. Reagan, using the independent route that the Supreme Court decided in 1976 could not be by Congress without violating First Amendment's guarantee of free speech. The respective goals of the four groups are \$3 million, \$3 million, \$3 million, and \$3 million.

White, the Democratic chairman, has complained of independent spending amount to "a clear pattern of advantage of the loopholes" as predicted that those groups violate the law by not being truly independent of the campaign.

### 'Not Loopholes'

Wertheimer, senior vice president of Common Cause, said he feared that the effort to undermine recently enacted campaign laws. He contended that the Supreme Court was trying to create a "parallel universe" to enable Reagan to "set up a parallel na-

tional campaign and say, 'Look, we're independent of the candidate.'"

Herbert Alexander, director of the Citizens Research Foundation and a leading expert on campaign financing, scoffed at the categorization of the effort as taking advantage of a loophole.

"It's not a loophole, it's a constitutional right," he said. But he suggested that some of the groups were probably "grossly exaggerating" the amount of money they were likely to raise. He said that a collective take of \$15 million to \$20 million would be "pretty big."

Even that much, he said, could give Mr. Reagan's side a substantial advantage. However, it would not be equal to the \$61 million to \$30 million edge that Richard Nixon had over George McGovern in 1972 or the \$25 million to \$12 million advantage he had over Hubert Humphrey in 1968.

He argued that the dollar advantage would not translate neatly into a campaign advantage because of the necessity for keeping the operations separate and uncoordinated from the Reagan campaign. Not

Eastern Raises

N.Y.-Coast Fare

NEW YORK, June 23 (AP) — Eastern Airlines has announced it will increase its one-way, nighttime coach fare between New York and Los Angeles or San Francisco to \$129 during July and August. The fare has been \$99 this month.

The \$129 fare is expected to be matched by other major carriers on the routes, including Trans World, American and United, although there were no immediate announcements. TWA had said that it hoped to increase the fare to \$250, but officials said they expected to match Eastern's fare.

World Airways, which has been charging \$88, has not announced what it will charge in July. Other airlines serving the route are Pan American and Capital.



READY FOR TAKEOFF — Margaret Liszewski, an employee of the engineering department of the Scott Aviation division of A-T-O Inc. in Lancaster, N.Y., tests a flight mask designed for female astronauts. Design changes in the normal space masks were necessary because women's faces are generally smaller and rounder than those of men.

## Jamaica Detains Officers, Alleging Subversive Plot

KINGSTON, Jamaica, June 23 (AP) — Security forces are questioning a civilian and members of Jamaica's Defense Force in connection with an alleged conspiracy and subversive activity, Prime Minister Michael Manley announced last night.

Sources close to the Jamaica Defense Force said early today that Americans had alerted security forces to the conspiracy. John Keller, public affairs officer at the U.S. Embassy in Kingston, had no comment.

In an announcement last night, Mr. Manley did not name those de-

tained, but sources said they included 28 military personnel, a former army officer and a civilian, reportedly the leader of a minor political party.

Earlier yesterday, in a recorded television and radio broadcast, the prime minister had replied to opposition charges that his government was planning a "military solution" involving international forces.

### Railing Party Trails

Mr. Manley, who has been prime minister since 1972, has promised to hold elections by October, and campaigning has begun. He has acknowledged polls that show his People's National Party far behind the Jamaica Labor Party, led by Edward Seaga, which favors better U.S. relations and more emphasis on private enterprise.

Business and diplomatic sources say Mr. Manley's leftist policies and close relations with Cuba have diminished foreign investment and created serious economic troubles.

Mr. Manley issued his statement last night after meeting with the heads of security forces at Jamaica House, his office and residence. He said the security officials "have confirmed to me earlier reports concerning events about which it is necessary to inform the nation."

He added: "As a result, I must state that a civilian and certain members of the Jamaica Defense Force have been detained for questioning in connection with an alleged conspiracy to commit certain acts detrimental to national security and subversive to the constitutional government of Jamaica. The situation is under control, investigations are being pursued and the public will be kept fully informed."

The plans of the other two groups are not as thoroughly developed. Americans for Change is headed by Sen. Harrison Schmitt, R-N.M. He called its \$30-million goal "something to shoot at." Sen. Schmitt contended that, far from giving Mr. Reagan an unfair advantage, these groups would only help redress President Carter's use of incumbency.

The fourth group has not yet been named or registered with the Federal Election Commission. It is headed by Peter Flanigan, a New York investment banker, and Winston Blount, a former postmaster general, both of whom served in the Nixon administration. Roderick Hills, a Washington lawyer and former chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, is also active in its planning, as is Stuart Spencer, who ran President Ford's campaign in 1976.

While direct personal contributions to the fall campaigns of the Republican and Democratic presidential nominees are illegal under the 1974 campaign law, individuals can give \$5,000 to such groups. But contributors are limited to a total of \$25,000 in political donations in a calendar year.

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## 'Minor' Miracle at St. Patrick's Cathedral

## Lutherans, Catholics Worship Together

By Kenneth A. Briggs

NEW YORK, June 23 (NYT) — Lutherans and Roman Catholics, who went their separate ways in the 16th century, sang, prayed and affirmed a common faith yesterday at St. Patrick's Cathedral in celebration of the very document that laid the groundwork for the schism.

An overflowing crowd filled the neo-Gothic styled cathedral, a major symbol of the nation's Roman Catholicism.

The congregation sang a traditional Protestant hymn, "The Church's One Foundation Is Jesus Christ Her Lord," and later confessed their sins and reaffirmed the vows of their baptism as one body of Christians in an occasion that included Gospel readings as well as a hymn written by Samuel Wesley.

### Centuries of Hostility

The celebration at St. Patrick's was among the largest in a series of similar events in this country and abroad that are being held this year to commemorate strides that have been taken in the effort to end the centuries of hostility between two powerful branches of the Christian faith.

The congregation broke into applause when the Rev. William Lazareth of the Lutheran Church said, "It is a minor miracle that Lutherans and Catholics are worshipping together again. And doesn't it feel great?"

Cardinal Terence Cooke of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, although in Rome for the beatification of Kateri Tekakwitha, said in a statement, "We recognize that while our past division still exists, it is now being weakened."

### Hard Bargaining Ahead

Some leaders, while praising the achievements, warn that the hard bargaining on a possible reunification of the two churches still lies ahead. For example, though they could sing Luther's hymn, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," side by side in St. Patrick's Sunday night, they are still not permitted to take communion in common and Roman Catholics do not recognize the validity of Lutheran ordination.

In the pageantry at the cathedral, however, doubts were largely swallowed up in exuberance.

The focus of the celebration was a document written to define the faith of German religious dissenters nearly five centuries ago, a weighty statement that has endured as the foundation of all branches of Lutheranism.

### Augsburg Confession

On June 25, 1530, the Protestant princes and theologians in the vanguard of the religious uprising led by Martin Luther delivered a basic statement of their beliefs to Emperor Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg. The Augsburg Confession, as it became known, was actually intended by the emperor to heal the growing strife between Protestants and Roman Catholics because the emperor wanted a united front in his war against the Turks.

The plan failed. The document became the centerpiece for a religious rebellion that has fractured the unity of the Western church to the present day.

The document contains objections to such sacramental articles as the distribution of wine in the Lord's Supper, priestly celibacy and the power of bishops.

### Great Degree of Agreement

This year, as Lutherans and Catholics alike mark the 450th anniversary of the document, dozens of seminars and worship services in the United States and abroad are using it to assess the astounding degree of agreement that the two churches have reached since they began formal ecumenical talks in 1967. A key indication of the new climate of cordiality is the attitude shown by the Vatican toward the Augsburg Confession itself. While the pope has not formally accepted the confession, official Roman

Catholic representatives met with Lutherans in the city of Augsburg in March and approved a joint statement that said the document "in large measure" could be "regarded as an expression of the common faith."

The Rev. Richard Neuhaus, a Lutheran theologian who helped organize the event at St. Patrick's, cited the March statement and other favorable comments from Vatican officials as evidence that tacit acceptance of the confession "in a real sense has already happened."

Pastor Neuhaus also predicted that a new phase is just ahead. "After the next year or two," he said, "a point will be reached where the question will be: 'What are the conditions of reunion?' and Catholics will have to get very specific."

Lutherans and Catholics have reached basic accords on the nature of the eucharist, the ordained ministry and the authority of bishops, but the key recommendations that accompany these agreements have not been implemented by the Vatican.

## Republicans' 'Bug' May Be Piped Music, Police Report

By Robert L. Jackson

WASHINGTON, June 23 (LAT) — District of Columbia police appear to have punctured Washington's newest political spy story — the one about Republican National Committee offices being bugged. Republican officials are left to face the music — literally.

A six-hour electronic sweep yesterday of the office of RNC co-chairman Mary Crisp failed to uncover evidence of illegal eavesdropping or wiretapping police said.

Officers said a double strand of wires found in the ceiling of Ms. Crisp's office, which some RNC of-

ficials regarded as highly suspicious, turned out to be carrying nothing more than music.

"One of our men connected a headphone to these two loose wires and heard music coming over them," police spokesman Joseph Gentile told reporters. He said the wires were apparently part of a sound system carrying recorded music into rooms of the Capitol Hill office building where the RNC headquarters is located.

The wires had been found above a drop ceiling during an examination of Ms. Crisp's office by a private security company last Wednesday and Thursday. She had called in the experts, she said, after hearing strange beeping noises on her office and home telephones. Tests at her apartment found no evidence of bugs.

Ms. Crisp said last night there were "still a lot of unanswered questions." But other RNC officials seemed to accept the police findings.

Donald Ivers, the committee's general counsel, said that police wanted to conduct additional interviews, including talks with private electronics experts who first examined Ms. Crisp's office. "I think the press has blown the whole thing out of proportion," Mr. Ivers also said.

Said a spokesman for the FBI, "We're not in it at all. Nothing has been brought to our attention that would indicate any federal laws have been broken."

Mr. Gentile said that police could not rule out the possibility that a listening device might once have been in place. The investigation will continue for several more days, he said. But police technicians are certain that the two loose wires, with a jack at one end, could not have been used for eavesdropping, he said.

## Test-Tube Baby Born in Australia — 4th in World

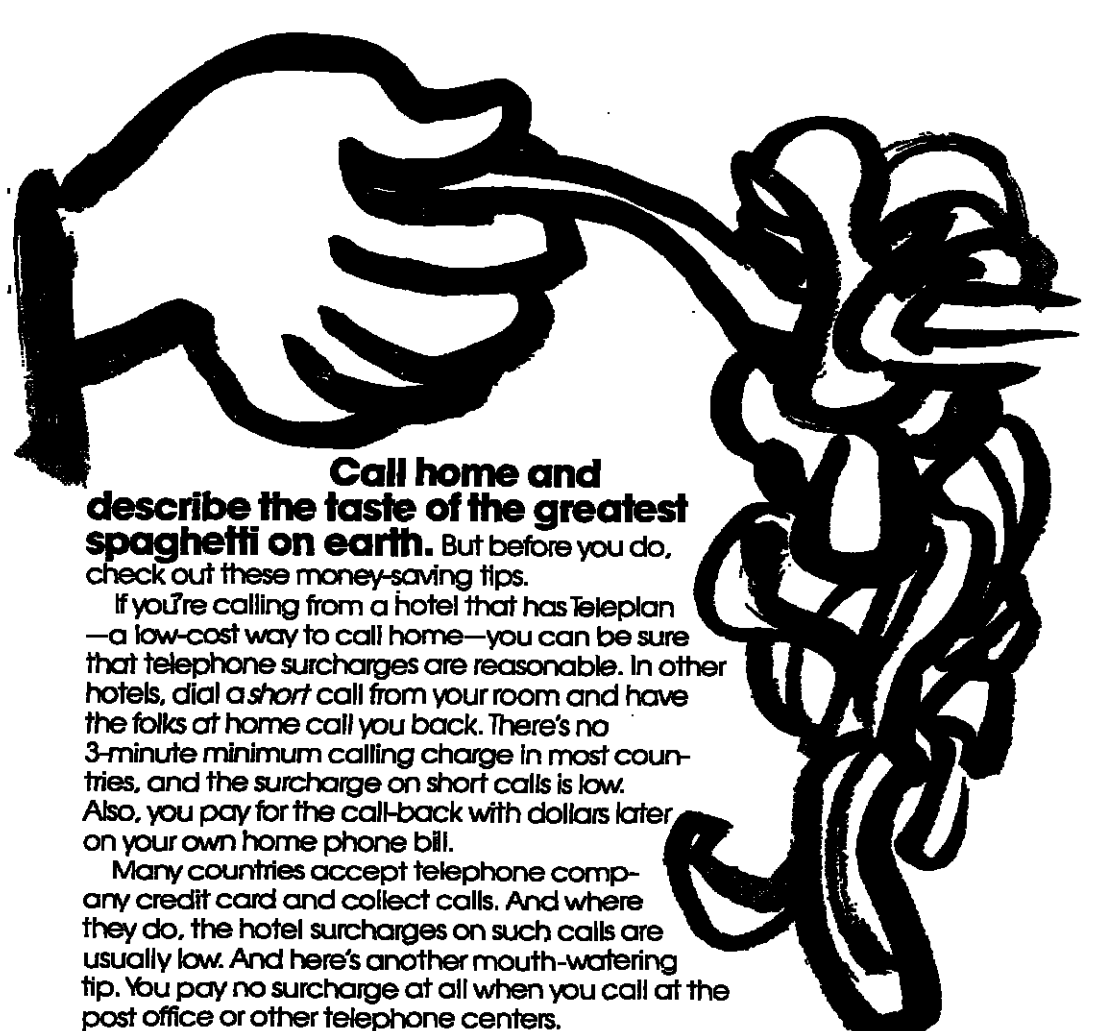
MELBOURNE, June 23 (AP) — The world's fourth test-tube baby, a 7-pound, 14-ounce girl, was born to a 24-year-old Australian woman today at a Melbourne hospital.

Linda Reed, a nurse who lives in Churchill, a coal-mining town in eastern Victoria, gave birth in a normal delivery to her second child, Candice Elizabeth, after 12 hours in labor. Mrs. Reed and her husband, John, 30, a teacher, have a 4-year-old son.

Mother and child were "beautifully well," a hospital spokesman said.

According to medical sources in Melbourne, Mrs. Reed was the first of two Victoria women to undergo in vitro fertilization — the implanting into the womb of an egg fertilized in a test tube.

They said the birth had been expected at the end of this week, nine months after the fertilized egg was implanted. The second woman was expecting her baby in August.



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If you're calling from a hotel that has teleplan — a low-cost way to call home — you can be sure that telephone surcharges are reasonable. In other hotels, dial a short call from your room and have the folks at home call you back. There's no 3-minute minimum calling charge in most countries, and the surcharge on short calls is low. Also, you pay for the call-back with dollars later on your own home phone bill.

Many countries accept telephone company credit card and collect calls. And where they do, the hotel surcharges on such calls are usually low. And here's another mouth-watering tip. You pay no surcharge at all when you call at the post office or other telephone centers.


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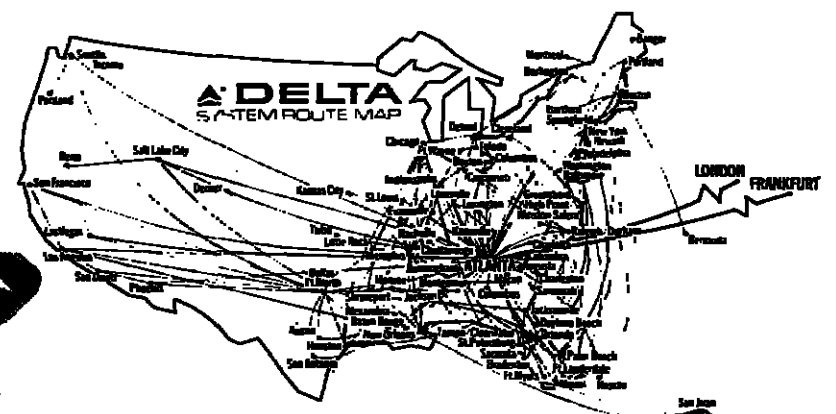
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## Traditional Warmth Yields to Doubts

## U.S. Partnership With Seoul Is Strained

By James P. Sterba

SEOUL, June 23 (NYT) — Americans and South Koreans used to greet each other with the warm, back-slapping bear hugs of wartime comrades sharing peacetime ideals.

Thirty years after the Korean peninsula erupted in a war that fused bonds of trust and affection, the bear hugs have given way to frosty handshakes. Warmth and admiration remain, but they compete now with skepticism and doubt.

Visiting South Korea a year ago, President Carter proclaimed that the "special relationship" between the two nations had matured into an equal partnership. In recent weeks, many concerned Americans and South Koreans have voiced fear that the partnership is in danger of crumbling. After discounting such fears in the past, U.S. diplomats and even military commanders have begun to express similar concerns.

In the eight months since President Park Chung Hee was assassinated, U.S. officials have acted like damage-control officers attempting to patch together ruptures in U.S.-South Korean relations resulting from a series of power plays, purges and martial law crackdowns undertaken by Lt. Gen. Chun Doo Hwan, who with the help of military academy classmates and army friends has forcefully assumed control of the government.

U.S. military commanders, led by Gen. John Wickham Jr., who heads the U.S. forces in South Korea, have been scrambling to restore integrity to the joint U.S.-South Korean armed forces command structure. That structure was shaken in December when Gen. Chun, without authority, requisitioned front-line units to use in battling rival generals for power in Seoul.

## Further Erosion

The command structure was further eroded last month when Gen. Chun appointed as many as 40 generals and several hundred staff colonels, lieutenant colonels and majors to essentially full-time political jobs on special security committees designed to consolidate his power.

While U.S. commanders insist that front-line readiness to withstand a North Korean attack has not been diminished, they acknowledge that many of South Korea's commanding generals have been affected by the army's prolonged politicization, looking over one shoulder toward Seoul. "That's where I worry," a senior U.S. officer said.

To counter that tendency, Gen. Wickham has reportedly undertaken a series of intensive war-game seminars aimed at redirecting the attention of South Korean officers to the battlefield.

Fearing that the attention of South Korean generals may be spread too thinly over assigned political duties on Gen. Chun's special ruling committees and their usual military command functions, U.S. commanders have bluntly insisted that officers in the Combined

Forces Command, in which U.S. and South Korean commanders are integrated, either be replaced to assume political commands or be kept full-time at their regular duties.

Still, command continuity suffers. South Korean marines, for example, have been assigned riot control duty in the wake of the student unrest and riots last month in the southern city of Kwangju. Thus, their commanders told U.S. officials, they would not be available for previously scheduled and expensive war games with the U.S. Marines next month. Gen. Wickham has strenuously protested that decision.

Little Attention

Unlike his mentor, Park, who was concerned enough about U.S. opinion to sanction a multimillion-dollar influencing-buying effort in Washington, Gen. Chun has exhibited little overt attention to Washington's sensitivities.

In fact, the U.S. Embassy in Seoul has fumed publicly over what one embassy official termed "systemic bias" by the South Korean government to its citizens about U.S. attitudes toward Gen. Chun's crackdown.

Through a severely censored press, the South Korean government has twisted official U.S. skepticism and disapproval of Gen. Chun's moves into apparent endorsement, contributing to rising anti-American feelings among a substantial part of the South Korean population who used to count on the United States for moral support as well as political leadership.



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## World Tensions Sour Ordinary Russians' View of U.S.

By Anthony Austin

MOSCOW (NYT) — In a desert corner of the Piskarevka Memorial Cemetery in Leningrad, burial place of 400,000 of the million who died in the 900-day blockade of the city during World War II, an old woman swept the withered flowers from the grassy mounds that stretched as far as the eye could see.

"These were just holes in the ground," she recalled. "They trucked the bodies in from the city and just dumped them in. Only afterward they fixed it up nice, like this."

Was she a survivor of the Lenin-

grad blockade?

"I was in the army," she said. "Baked bread, washed clothes — what didn't I do? Now it seems I'm taking care of the dead."

She put the last of the faded floral offerings into her wheelbarrow and looked curiously at the stranger. "And where are you from?"

"America, grandmother."

"America!" she exclaimed in surprise.

Agitated Answer

She took her twig broom and furrowed the earthen lane between the mass graves. Then she straightened up. Her worn and wrinkled face was red with agitation.

"Why doesn't America let us be?" she demanded. "We have no life because of you, no life at all."

"We don't think it's your government. We think it's your government. Look at Afghanistan."

She did not seem to hear. "Two sons I lost in the war," she said. "Where are they buried?" She began to weep.

It encounters like this are indicative of popular attitudes — and they are too frequent and spontaneous to be anything else — ordinary people have developed a widely shared sense of grievance over what is seen as a surge of unwarranted U.S. hostility toward the Soviet Union.

Role of Media

The liking for Americans that remains a national disposition has been clouded by bewilderment as to why the United States should have reverted to its old enmity against the Soviet state just when their new friendly relationship seemed to be going so well.

The Soviet press and broadcast-

ing must be credited with a large measure of success. For six months they have been blaming Washington for the breakdown of détente.

American "ruling circles," they claim, disowned détente soon after the signing of the strategic arms limitation agreement a year ago and embarked on a new drive for global

hegemony starting with an attempt to turn Afghanistan into a forward base against the Soviet Union. They add that the Soviet Union had to safeguard its Afghan security zone; hence the need to spend so much on the military and hence another deformation of hopes of a better life for the people.

Soviet dissidents report, sadly, that what they hear from the news, the common people, is not much different from this view encouraged by the Soviet media.

## I Was Alone

"I was standing in line at the market," said a woman dissident, "when a man ahead of me said the shortages were because of the Afghanistan crisis, and I asked loudly: 'And who created the crisis? Why did we have to send our troops into

Afghanistan?' And the same man turned on me and shouted: 'Of course we had to, woman! Just look at the map. See where Afghanistan is. If we didn't take it, they would have.'"

"Everyone in line appeared to agree," she said. "I was alone."

An American got into the front seat of a Moscow taxi — a Russian couple was in the back — just as the cab was almost sideswiped by a big black limousine. This set off a stream of complaints by the taxi driver about high officials who speed through traffic, the lack of consumer goods, the poor apartment he was living in, the paltry pension he would receive.

Then, taking the American for a Russian, he said: "Carter is acting like a hooligan, boycotting the Olympics, encircling us with missiles. We've got to bolster our de-

fenses, don't we? We've got to tighten our belts."

Marked Difference

A Soviet writer, told of this episode, said: "Poor people, dark people, kept in darkness by ignorance and misinformation. In the provinces it is even worse."

The writer, though no dissident, was representative of the intelligentsia that gives Moscow and Leningrad a stimulating social life. Those circles the situation markedly different.

The government's reasons for intervening in Afghanistan are viewed with skepticism if not hostility. There is deep regret for the real loss of scientific and cultural change with the United States. Washington is seen as searching justifiably for an effective response to a Soviet challenge.

Rightists Suspected in Slaying of Italy Terrorist Prober

ROME, June 23 (AP) — A young man got off a motorcycle and shot to death an assistant state prosecutor who was standing at a bus stop in a residential area north of Rome today, police reported.

Police said the gunman, wearing a helmet with a dark shield covering his face, stepped from a motorcycle driven by an accomplice, approached Mario Amato, 43, an anti-terrorist investigator, and shot him in the back of the head.

In separate phone calls to Italian newspapers, callers claimed the killing for both the extreme-right *Nuovo Ordine* (New Order) and the extreme-left Red Brigades. Police said they tended to believe that the NAR was responsible because Amato was one of the most active police investigators of rightist terrorism in the country.

Police quoted witnesses as saying that after the attack the gunman walked a few yards to where his accomplice was waiting and both fled. Police said they later found the motorcycle abandoned in the tarmac area. It had been stolen three days ago by three armed men.

Police described Amato as one of the most active investigators of "black terrorism," or rightist terror, in Italy.

U.S. Population Getting Older

As Number of Children Falls

WASHINGTON, June 23 (UPI) — The average age of Americans is 30 years — up two years over the last decade because of a drop in the number of children and a sharp increase in the elderly population, the Census Bureau says.

The bureau said in a study released last weekend that between 1970 and 1979 the population under 14 decreased by 14 percent while the population of those 65 and older grew by 24 percent.

During the same period, the study said, the post-World War II baby boom population of between 25 and 34 grew by 39 percent. Consequently, it said, the median or average age of the population-at-large went up by more than two years — from 27.9 to 30.0.

Other findings of the study based on samplings from the 1980 census:

• More women have been delaying marriage. In 1979, 49 percent of

women aged 20 to 24 had never married compared to 36 percent in 1970.

• Average income, adjusted for inflation, for women increased by 8 percent between 1970 and 1978 but dropped 2 percent for men.

• Divorces skyrocketed. The divorce-to-married ratio doubled for both sexes to 92 per 1,000 in 1979.

• Alternatives to marriage increased drastically. The number of unmarried couples living together doubled to 1.3 million and nonfamily households increased by 66 percent from one-fifth to one-fourth of all households. Nearly nine out of 20 of these consisted of only one person.

• For the first time in history, the rate of population growth during the decade was greater outside metropolitan areas — 1.18 percent — than it was in and near the cities — 0.73 percent — although numerically, metropolitan areas still gained more people.

• Three Sunbelt states — Texas, California and Florida — accounted for 42 percent of the entire national population growth for the decade. On Jan. 1, 1980, the national population was estimated at 221,719,000 — up from 203,849,000 in 1970.

67.4 Million in Mexico

MEXICO CITY, June 23 (Reuters) — The population of Mexico grew by almost 20 million in the past 10 years, to 67.4 million, according to preliminary results of a national census.

The 1970 census listed slightly more than 48.2 million.

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## Some Favor Dropping Draft

## French Debate Shorter Military Service

By Marcus Eliason

PARIS, June 23 (AP) — While Americans talk of bringing back the draft, the French Parliament is talking about shortening or even abolishing it. Pacifists want it abolished on moral grounds, while some generals and civilian defense experts say it should be eliminated because it nets far more recruits than France needs.

The most concrete proposal before the parliamentary committee shortening French military service from 18 months to 12 months, it was made by committee head Yves Lencu, a

Gaullist and veteran of France's Indochina wars. He complains that the army that made Napoleon great is today "half-motivated, half-trained, half-equipped for half-clear missions."

France has the biggest armed force in Western Europe. In testimony before the committee, Defense Minister Yvon Bourges said he was in favor of keeping the 12-month service. "It shows the enemy that the will to resist him will go as far and last as long as is needed," he said.

Britain, Ireland and Luxembourg are the only Western European countries that have no draft. The

rest conscript their young men for periods ranging from as little as three months in Finland and six in Austria to as much as 32 months in Greece.

## Generals Divided

The Lencu committee's work ties in with other military choices facing the country, such as whether to build the neutron weapon. A decision is expected next month.

French generals are divided on the draft issue. Those who believe French security depends on its nuclear power think the government is drafting far more men than it needs. Those who expect another European war to be fought on the ground see conscription as vital.

Former Prime Minister Pierre Messmer proposed to the Lencu committee that it abolish the draft and depend wholly on volunteers.

Mr. Lencu believes the elite strike forces used to protect France's overseas interests can be manned by paid volunteers. A four-month conscription period, he says, would give recruits ample basic training without disrupting their studies or work prospects. He suggests that recruits choose their own date for being drafted.

## Pro-Draft Public

A recent opinion poll finds that 64 percent of Frenchmen favor a draft. But the same poll shows that 50 percent think the system is inefficient. The 500,000-man French military machine will call up 274,000 18-year-olds this year, but will exempt 40 percent from a full year's service on health or compassionate grounds, or on student deferment.

The army is reportedly concerned about an increase in the number of men who refuse the draft on moral grounds. Last year 934 were recognized by a special tribunal of public figures and military men as conscientious objectors. Another 300 were refused this status. Like most Western European countries, France makes its conscientious objectors give the state alternative service. In France, most work as forest rangers.

The 1963 law that exempts pacifists contains a clause forbidding publicity for the cause of conscientious objection. Nonetheless, four conscientious objectors suspended themselves by ropes from the Eiffel Tower last December. In a separate incident, 20 others rushed into the Belgian Embassy seeking asylum. They were turned away.

Amnesty International says that France, Greece, Switzerland and Sweden are the only Western European countries with conscientious objectors behind bars. About 30 are in prison in France, it says, although the courts have proved lenient, usually imposing fines or light suspended sentences.



SHADES OF COMFORT — Although the rain in Spain stays mainly on the plain, the sun in the city can be brutal for tourists. So the city fathers in Toledo provided mile-long canvas canopies through the most-popular streets.

## Unidentified Persons Are Charged In Death of Jean Seberg in Paris

PARIS, June 23 (UPI) — Authorities have filed charges against unnamed persons in the barbiturate death last year of Jean Seberg, an American actress, and are looking for her last companion to clear up questions in the case, it was disclosed yesterday.

Officials said that charges for failure to assist a person in danger arose from examinations showing an extraordinarily high level of alcohol in Miss Seberg's body, found Sept. 8 under a blanket in the back seat of her car. They said that tests showed an alcohol level almost twice that at which a person would become comatose. No alcoholic beverage container was found in the unlocked car, they said.

Police said they have been looking for several months for Ahmed Hasmi, 29, an Algerian actor who had lived with Miss Seberg, who was 40 when she died, during the last months of her life. Mr. Hasmi reported her missing nine days before the car was found on a Paris street, saying that she had run from their apartment wearing only a blanket and carrying the barbiturates.

The death of Miss Seberg, star of the 1957 movie "Saint Joan" and once known as the teen-age protégée of producer Otto Preminger, brought charges that an FBI smear campaign caused her psychiatric problems, and an admission by the law enforcement agency that it planted a false report in 1970 that she had been made pregnant by a Black Panther leader. She had been active in black causes.

Police last September called the death a suicide, based on traces of barbiturates in her blood and empty containers found in the small car. She had unsuccessfully tried to jump in front of a subway train in Paris the month before. Her third husband, French author Romain Gary, charged that the FBI-planted story was responsible for her death. She had left a suicide note for their son.

## Obituaries

## Bert Kaempfert, Composed Sinatra Hit

PALMA, Majorca, June 23 (UPI) — Bert Kaempfert, 56, a West German composer best known for his songs "Strangers in the Night" and "Spanish Eyes," died yesterday of a stroke at his vacation home on Majorca.

Mr. Kaempfert characterized his soft big band sound, which music buffs termed Continental style, as "music that doesn't disturb you."

He recorded his first big international hit, "Wonderland by Night," in 1961, and his career reached its peak with Frank Sinatra's soulful interpretation of "Strangers in the Night." The song was written for Mr. Sinatra.

Berthold Kaempfert was born in Hamburg on Oct. 16, 1923. At the age of 6, he was hit by a car. His mother, convinced of her son's musical talent, bought him a piano with the insurance money.

After years of private teaching on the keyboard, he was accepted at the Hamburg Music Academy in 1937, where he mastered the clarinet, saxophone and accordion as well.

## Warlike Groups

At 21, he was drafted into the Nazi armed forces, where he played in a navy music corps. During six months as a prisoner of war in 1945, he formed an 18-piece POW band.

In Bremerhaven, Mr. Kaempfert formed the Pik As (Ace of Spades) sextet, which played mainly at the U.S. officers' club. He returned to Hamburg in 1947, performing at the Esplanade club and on the British forces network radio.

After years of composing, arranging and directing, he struck gold with "Wonderland bei Nacht." The song was sold to a New York publisher and released as "Wonderland by Night."

"Spanish Eyes," sung by Al Martino, and "Strangers in the Night" sold more than 10 million copies. His other songs of international repute included "African Night," "Swinging Safari," "Love" and "Blue Midnight."

Mr. Kaempfert moved to Switzerland in 1966. He had divided his time between his home near Zurich and his home on Majorca since then.

## Jesse Curry

DALLAS, June 23 (AP) — Jesse Curry, 66, who was Dallas police chief when President John F. Kennedy was assassinated here in 1963, died yesterday of a heart attack.

Dallas police captured Lee Harvey Oswald, the accused assassin, within two hours of Kennedy's shooting on Nov. 22, 1963. Two days later, Jack Ruby shot and killed Oswald during a jail transfer, which led to heated criticism of Mr. Curry's department.

"The worst thing that ever happened to us was Jack Ruby," Mr. Curry said a few years later. "I wake up every now and then at 2 and 3 in the morning thinking about Kennedy, Oswald and Ruby and can't go back to sleep."

Mr. Curry joined the Dallas force as a patrolman in 1936 and became chief in 1960. In 1966, Curry resigned and became a bank security director. In 1969, he wrote a book about the Kennedy case, "JFK Assassination File."

## Frances Haskell

OKLAHOMA CITY, June 23 (AP) — Frances Haskell, 89, the

first woman to serve as a Texas Ranger and the daughter of Oklahoma's first governor, died here. An active Democrat for years, she became a Republican in 1964 and was chairman of Oklahoma's Electoral College delegation in 1976.

## Richard A. Battles Jr.

HARTFORD, Conn., June 23 (AP) — The Rev. Richard A. Battles Jr., 52, a civil rights leader, died here yesterday. He was a regional director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a friend of the late Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

## Scholars Digging Old Sod In Race Against Builders

DUBLIN, June 23 (NYT) — Archaeologists are rushing to meet a deadline that will halt their digging in the next few weeks in an area of Ireland where Vikings once settled.

Excavations have turned up 30,000 artifacts from the 9th to the 14th centuries in a 4½-acre section of Dublin called Wood Quay. Artifacts range from Viking houses to evidences of such trades as comb-making.

Wood Quay has been the subject of court cases for several years because of impending plans to build offices for 1,500 civil servants there.

## Medieval 'Friends'

Among those opposed to the construction work is the Rev. F.X. Martin, chairman of the Friends of Medieval Dublin and a professor in medieval history.

Traces of the Vikings were discovered in the area in 1962 during the widening of streets. Brendan O'Riordan, then in the Irish Antiquities Department of the National Museum, received permission to do some excavating and his discoveries have included part of the old city wall dating from 1210.

In 1977, the legal owners of the land signed a contract for the building of a main administrative center in Wood Quay. Patrick Russell, an official in charge of development, said that since it was known that "this center area of Dublin was where the Vikings settled," a provision was written into the contract with the builder that archaeologists would be allowed to excavate.

Last June, Father Martin led a group of 20 writers, politicians, trade unionists and others in occupying Wood Quay, which is surrounded by a high fence topped with barbed wire.

Rushing in one evening during the four minutes between the departure of the foreman and the arrival

of the night watchman, they held out for 21 days until local elections were held in which several City Council candidates opposed to preserving Wood Quay were defeated. However, attempts to stop the building have continued to be rejected by the council.

Mr. O'Riordan, now the director of the National Museum, said he would like to have seen an archaeological park on Wood Quay with reconstructions of the "post-and-wattle" Viking houses, structures in which wooden posts were used to support branches of hazel wood woven horizontally and insulated with mud and other materials.

Patrick Wallace, who succeeded Mr. O'Riordan as director of the Wood Quay excavation, said he had uncovered about 100 such houses.

The museum director said the administrative center being built on Wood Quay was "not in keeping with the medieval aspect of the area." He said, however, that his staff would try to make "the best of what is left" by establishing a museum in the basement.

At least, Mr. O'Riordan noted, the "major finds of old Dublin will be displayed near where they were found."

## Town Hall Workers

## Strike Around Spain

MADRID, June 23 (Reuters) — Local-government workers throughout Spain began an indefinite strike today for better pay and conditions, union sources said, estimating that close to 1,000 town halls were closed, particularly in rural areas.

Madrid was unaffected, but the local-government employees' union said it would tell its members in the capital to stop work if no progress is made in talks with the government today.

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## Medicine

## Asthma: Poland's Salt Mine Treatment

By John Darnton

WIELICZKA, Poland (NYT) — Part of Eastern Europe's year is its fanatic devotion to health clinics. It can make an American feel he is treading through a heavy limestone world of underground carriages, bubbling springs, tiled hallways smelling of sulfur and white-frosted doctors with tiny goatees.

Perhaps the most unusual clinic in this small village in the Carpathian foothills eight miles south of Krakow — a sanatorium for treatment of bronchitis and asthma situated a quarter of a mile from the main shaft of a salt mine 656 ft underground.

Every day 60 patients don protective coats and headlamps, travel on a shabby caged elevator with miners and follow an abandoned track through tunnelled passageways to two immense caverns with hospital beds. They remain for five hours, passing the time staring at rock walls. They stay overnight two nights a week.

The clinic, which opened in 1964, has good results in treating cases of chronic asthma, although the doctors have not methodically followed up all the patients and can only theorize why the underground environment should be so effective for severe respiratory ailments. Our medical results appear to be best in the world," said Dr. A.S. Tondryk, deputy medical director of Krakow health resorts and a forerunner of the clinic. "The air in mines is unique. We have conducted several chemical analyses, we don't yet know the exact chemical reasons."

He had heard, he said, that there at least two other underground sanatoriums, one in East Germany and one in the Soviet Union. "But it's unique," he added. "It's the one in the salt mine, and it's patients from all the others."

He discovered the treatment something of an accident. "It noticed that the miners in the mines never developed asthma those who had hereditary asthma never had attacks," he said. "Tondryk explained. "The air in the caves doesn't contain any pollutants whatsoever. If we under the amount of bacteria, it's sterile as an operating room. It rains salt and other elements, it might be beneficial."

When there are other factors," he said. "When a patient goes underground he is absolutely isolated from everyday stresses. We now

understand the mechanism of attacks but not the cause. From a medical viewpoint I'm afraid we may not come up with a definitive answer. It might be a combination of factors."

In some cases the effects appear to endure for some time. Tondryk said he had sent questionnaires to 1,500 former patients. Among the 864 who replied, he said, 46 percent reported recovery for at least a year and 36 percent for six months. In a limited number of cases the asthma seemed to have disappeared.

The hospital, which requires patients to prove that their circulatory systems can stand the strain of descending the shaft, accepts 16 groups of 60 patients a year for 24-day sessions. The cost varies from \$55 a day for a single room in high season to \$40 a day for a double in low season. Outpatient treatment is cheaper. Facilities are being expanded and improved to accommodate foreigners.

Among the current group of patients was Mary Bielak of St. Catharines, Ontario, who heard about the clinic during a tour of Poland eight years ago and only in May could gain admission. She said her asthma developed three months after she left Poland in 1959 and often required hospitalization.

She listened hopefully to the stories of her bedside companions undergoing second and third treatments. Irene Muska from Krakow said the cure was like a miracle even though it wore off.

The only complaints were of boredom. "All we do is talk about television," said a young man who was bedded down, amid much giggling, in the women's cavern.

The mine, which dates from the 11th century and still produces 700 tons of salt a year, is a major tourist attraction because it contains underground chapels and salt sculptures from the 17th century, grottoes and lakes, a museum, a snack bar, a nature preserve, a post office and even a tennis court.

## Opera in France

## A Lively Rameau Revival

By David Stevens

VERSAILLES, France (JHT) — The production of Jean-Philippe Rameau's "Nais" in the Opera Royal of the chateau here — believed to be the first revival of the work since the composer's death — has been out to be the delightful highlight of the Versailles Festival and of a year devoted to Rameau by the Paris organization known as La Recherche Artistique.

The work does not fall into any of the composer's more familiar theatrical categories, such as *tragedie lyrique* or *opera-ballet*, but in a lighter, bucolic vein he called *pastorale heroique*. Written in 1749, to celebrate the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and the end of the War of the Austrian Succession, it begins with an allegorical prologue in which George II of England and Louis XV of France are represented as Neptune and Jupiter.

The story proper — Neptune, in cognate, wooed and wins the nymph Nais and takes her back to his underwater palace where they are welcomed with song and dance — is little more than a slender pretext for a series of varied and contrasting musical numbers for soloists, chorus and ballet. The result is almost pure divertimento, but since the

music is Rameau in his liveliest mode, it was quite enough.

As in the case of Berlioz, the British seem to be well in advance of the French in reviving Rameau, and the principal element in this co-production was the English Bach Festival and its baroque orchestra.

The period-style instruments, authentic costumes (by Derek West, based on Boquet's original designs), the reconstruction (by Belinda Quirey) of the dance style of the epoch, and the splendid setting of Gabriel's theater all helped to make this one of the most convincing revivals of 18th-century opera in recent years.

## Lively Staging

Although the spectacular stage effects suggested by the plot could only be hinted at by lighting, Antoine Bourdelle's staging was lively and fluid and avoided the pitfalls of statuesque posing, and Nicholas McGegan's musical direction made the most of Rameau's charm, energy and taste for contrast.

France was admirably represented by two principals in the cast: Colette Alliot-Lugaz as the beguiling Nais and the baritone Jean-Philippe Lafont, who doubled sonorously as Pluto and Tiresias. The rest of the cast, from across the Channel, was excellent. In particular, the tenor Ian Caley sang sweetly as the amorous Neptune — and with heroic aplomb in one bravura outburst — and the bass Ian Caddy was imposing both as Jupiter and Telamon.

With both "Dardanus" and "Platée" in the Paris Opera's prospectus for the next couple of seasons, and with the 300th anniversary of Rameau's birth coming up in 1983, it looks as if the composer is due for plenty of exposure. This staging of "Nais" can serve as a useful model for future revivals.

The opera was the centerpiece of an all-baroque evening that began with welcoming fanfares in the courtyard of the chateau, continued with an hour-long concert of sacred music in the Chapelle Royale, and wound up after the opera with a tour through the illuminated chateau that almost trumped the musical offerings with the spectacularly restored Galerie des Glaces and Chambre du Roi.

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## International Restaurant Guide

## FRANCE

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**LE CORSAIRE** 1, Blvd. Exelmans, 525.53.23. The XVth-century restaurant. F. 60 incl. wine, menu. Excluding entrance and menu.  
**GOLDENBERG JO** 7, rue de Valenciennes, 278.29.09. Daily, lunch, sandwiches, pastries, salads, soups, chopped liver, etc. Open till 1 a.m. Air-conditioned.  
**LA MERE CATHERINE** 6, place du Tertre 606.32.69. Traditional cuisine. Wide choice of specialties. Terrace and garden.  
**LA TAYOLA** 10 Rue de la Harpe (11<sup>e</sup>), 40<sup>e</sup> Boule, 700.13.22. Pizza and real Italian cooking. Menu F. 22 and 43 + carte. Open daily until 1 a.m.  
**MOISSON DU CIEL** 1 rue Oudinot (Rue de la Harpe) 272.27.55. Closed Monday. Refined Vietnamese specialties. All credit cards accepted.  
**St-Jean-Pied-de-Port** "A la carte" menu F.96 incl. wine, coffee & serv. (Sav. till 11 p.m.). 227.61.50. Daily, 123 Av. Wagram, Summer terrace.

**PARIS - LEFT BANK**  
**CHEZ FRANÇOISE** Invalides or terminal. Full menu. Liqueurs on vineyard de 1200. 551.67.23, 705.49.03. Closed Sat. evening and Mon.  
**LA COUPOLE** Restaurant-Bistro. Daily until 2 a.m. 320.14.20, 102, Blvd. Malesherbes (Levallois). Open to August.  
**RESTAURANT PARC MONTSOURIS** 20 Rue Goez, 14<sup>e</sup>, 588.38.52. Brasserie. Open daily until 2 a.m.  
**ROTISSERIE DE L'ABBAYE** 22 Rue Jacob, 326.36.26. Closed Sunday. Dinner. 30th cent. setting.  
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## Open-Door Culture

## On the Road for Fun and Restoration

By Susan Heller Anderson

PARIS (NYT) — Sweeping through Paris and the Loire Valley this month with plans to donate money to restore crumbling works of art and architecture, 37 art-loving visitors, the Friends of French Art, have had some of the most aristocratic doors in France opened to them.

The main activity of the group, which was founded last year by Elin Vanderlip of Palos Verdes, Calif., who lived here for 10 years, is a two-week tour of museums and monuments in need of aid. In addition to paying for their transportation, accommodations and meals, members must donate a minimum of \$3,500 to be used for restoration projects. During the tour, the group decides how the money will be spent.

On its first trip last year, they allocated about \$50,000, modest in restoration terms, for projects ranging from cleaning a painting attributed to Botticelli in the collection of the Chateau de Chantilly to the restoration of the mill at Pontaise used as a subject by Pissarro and Cezanne.

## The Shaming Gambit

This year, Mrs. Vanderlip says, she will collect at least \$120,000 from the tour, plus money from benefits planned for the fall in the Los Angeles area.

"By giving money, even a bit," Mrs. Vanderlip said of the French, "you shame them into taking notice of their own things." After the Friends donated \$20,000 last year to restore the church in Baron, north of Paris, the French government allotted four times that amount to complete the work.

The group of more than 100 members is a mixture of social, creative and just plain rich Americans, plus a sprinkling of Europeans. One friend came from Rome and another from Paris for this year's trip. Dwight Dillard, a real estate developer from San Marino, Calif., and his wife, Donna, brought their interior decorator, Jack Lawrence. Kay Duke, the widow of the composer Vernon Duke, came with David Ingalls, a publisher of art books, who was on last year's trip. About half of the 37 were repeat.

Also in the group were Catherine Hauberg Sweeney of Nova Scotia and Florida; Margaret Wetzel, whose husband, Harry, is chief executive officer of the Garrett Corp. and owns Alexander Valley Vineyards; Betty Elliott Field of Portuguese Bend, Calif.; Winifred Caldwell of Dallas; Lillian and Lester Gergerich of Westport, Conn.; and Nancy Chapart of Lausanne, Switzerland. Polly Guggenheim Logan, whose husband, John, couldn't leave Washington at the last minute, brought her social secretary.

Some of Paris' most prominent hostesses entertained members of the group during their visit. "The generosity of the idea and the practical side of it seduced me completely," said Olivier Le Fuel, a gaffly on the Paris art and social scene. Le Fuel arranged visits to Pierre and Sao Schlumberger's art-filled home, where the friends sipped champagne, and to the museum-like Hotel de Chantilly, which belongs to Savros Niarcho.

A lunch in the group's honor was given in the Chateau de Chantilly by Noel Le Maresquier, chief architect for civil buildings and national palaces of France. Luncheons, cocktails and buffets were given by Baroness Cecile de Rothschild; Prince and Princess Tassilo von Furstenberg; Baron and Baroness Alain de Rothschild; the U.S. Ambassador, Arthur Hartman and his wife Donna; Jacques Chaban-Delmas, the president of the Chamber of Deputies; and Christian Prevost-Marcellin, inspector general in the Department of Historical Monuments.

On the way to and in the Anjou region of the Loire Valley, the group lunched with Jean and Genevieve Raudre at Chateau de Mainton, then dined with Countess Rene de Nicolay and her son. They were entertained by the Marquis and Marquise de Contades at Chateau Montgoffroy, by Prince Jean-Charles de Ligne at Chateau de Serant, by the Marquis and Marquise de Brissac at their chateau, and a half-dozen others.

Much of this was arranged by Mrs. Vanderlip, who lived in France for 10 years and whose children were educated in European schools. Through her daughter, an art restorer married to a Frenchman, Mrs. Vanderlip met Baroness Elie de Rothschild, who helped with last year's tour.

Friends of French Art was wine and dined at an elegant cocktail buffet given by Prince and Princess Tassilo von Furstenberg. The princess, an American from Houston, is the aunt of the daughter-in-law of Le Maresquier, who runs Chantilly. "They want to do something for Chantilly and I just love Chantilly," the princess drawled, breezing past canvases by Picasso, Rouault, Braque and Bonnard that rivaled paintings in the Schlumbergers' collection but paled slightly next to Niarchos' Monets, Van Goghs, Gauguins and Lautrecs and their 17th and 18th-century French furniture.

French reaction to Mrs. Vanderlip's charitable social venture has been enthusiastic. "Even if the monies are modest, and I don't consider them so, it would not diminish our hospitality," Le Fuel asserted. "Not a single collector refused to welcome them. We're showing that we're not disassociating ourselves from the United States, despite politics."

## Music in Italy

## Offenbach Double Bill Is a Triumph in Arezzo

By William Weaver

AREZZO, Italy, June 23 (JHT) — The centenary of Offenbach's death has not been given much attention by Italian musical organizations — a curious neglect in this country where anniversaries are usually the excuse for festivals, scholarly congresses and ceremonies of every kind.

But the genius of Offenbach is ill-suited to solemnity. Perhaps the best sort of commemoration is the light-hearted, yet careful presentation of his works. And so all honor to Arezzo, where last night at the Teatro Petrucci there was an irresistible double bill, consisting of the early "Les Deux Aveugles" (1855) and the later, even more delightful "M. Choufleuri Restera Chez Soi," written in 1861, only three years before "La Belle Helene." Both these works were being given their Italian premieres.

The Offenbach bill was brought here by a Swiss company, Les Treteux Lyriques de Geneve, directed by Mario Marchisio, who is Swiss despite his name and is also the resourceful, witty, and musical star tenor. He was one of the two phony blind beggars and, in the second opera, a passionate musician. (The impressive Charles Ossola was the other). The agile, pretty soprano Danielle Bost excelled in the second work. The company is admirably coherent, a well-drilled, but not regimented team. Their comedy never became horseplay, never lost style, and yet the director Jean Dubuis gave his players plenty of comic business. Jean-Francois Monot conducted the Ensemble Instrumental de la Suisse Romande with tasteful verve.

The production was part of a kind of chamber opera festival, which included not only performances but lectures, workshops, and visits to local schools. Last week it also brought to the Petrucci a production, first staged last November in Rovigo, of Baldassar Galuppi's "Il Mondo Della Luna," the same Goldoni text that received a more famous setting by Haydn. Galuppi's opera is also charming, and the Rovigo staging, as seen here, had many merits. Franco Fiva, who is responsible for the performing version, conducted the same Suisse Romande group in a lively, well-sung performance. The cast included a number of familiar names. The young Carmen Lavani was a sweet-voiced Lisetta, and the tenor Carlo Galia was a suitably elegant suitor. Gastone Sarti sang and played a sympathetic Buonafede, the gullible believer in the charlatan astronomer Eclittico (Alberto Noli, in solid voice). Gabbri Ferrari designed imaginative sets and costumes. Antonio Tagliani directed the work in a simple and engaging fashion.

The only sad note: The audiences for both Galuppi and Offenbach were distressingly sparse. The city administration, thanks also to the Operastudio di Rome, has brought chamber opera to Arezzo. For the next festival, it must manage to bring Arezzo to the opera.

## Arts Agenda

GENEVA — The Grand Theatre is presenting Verdi's "Otello" in a new production conducted by Giuseppe Protti, staged by Jean-Claude Eloy, and with sets by Jean Svoboda and costumes by Jovanka Konecni. Carlo Cusani is in the title part, with Margaret Price as Desdemona, Piero Cappuccelli as Iago, Hugh Fauriol as Emilia, Pietro Bortolotto as Cassio and John Mastrorilli as Lodovico. Remaining performances are scheduled for June 24, 27, 29 and July 1.

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## Wine Appellation

## Missouri gets 1st in U.S.

ST. LOUIS, Mo. (UPI) — The tiny Missouri River community of Augusta has been informed it is the nation's first wine-producing region to be designated an "American Viticultural Area" by federal government.

The so-called "appellation of origin" means the two wineries in Augusta, a 15-square-mile area with a population of 216, may label their wine as "Augusta," the way regions elsewhere produce a distinctive wine do.

The action by the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms considered a coup for the state region because it beat the prestigious wineries of California and New York in gaining the official recognition.

well known wineries in California's Napa and Sonoma valleys also filed appellation requests with the bureau, but theirs were rejected because of failure to meet requirements set down by the 1978 Federal Alcohol Administration Act.

Lucien Dressel, owner of the 25-acre Mount Pleasant winery in Augusta (Montello Vineyards is the other) said the California requests were rejected because they "included too big an area or tried to manufacture an area that doesn't exist."

"Nobody knows where the Napa Valley begins or ends," said Dressel. "That will be a real battle. Here it was easier. Everything exists in a pocket."

The designation followed a hearing by five bureau members last November.

## Records You Can Bite Into

NEW YORK (NYT) — They're already chomping in Cleveland, San Francisco, Boston and elsewhere and it's spreading. All started last September, the Wm. Wrigley Jr. Co. is a new chewing-gum product will tie in with the record industry.

A Chu-Pop is a miniature, non-square album cover. In a round piece of bubble gum, like a record album. Chu-Pop will cost about 35 cents, and album covers will be released weekly intervals. The first set of covers from such well-known groups and performers as Jack, Rush, the Pat Travers and Billy Joel.

side of the album cover is a action of the original full-length, the other reprints lyrics one of the hit songs. isn't easy coming up with the product. "We would spend a causing what the gum should be," said Richard Black, of sign company that packaged the gum. "Whether it should be like a record, or not, and it it should look like an a 45 record." Amuro Prod. Wrigley subsidiary that up the concept, decided on grooved, pink bubble gum.

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HASSAN II

Part Two

This supplement is translated from a report published by *afrique* the francophone international weekly, in its advertising series "La parole est à ..."



The volunteers of the Green March give thanks after crossing the frontier into the former Spanish Sahara.

## In Search of a Lost Morocco

An interview with Professor Germain Ayache

"He stinks of intelligence the way others stink of sweat," the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre once wrote about a friend. One is struck by the same impression when talking with Germain Ayache. Scrupulous and meticulous almost to the point of being overly cautious, he is the kind of man who never makes a statement that he cannot back up with facts.

A militant in the French Communist Party since 1936, he nevertheless resists easy labels.

Now age 65, with degrees in the classics, he launched himself into the study of history late in life. "It was Maréchal Juin (Resident General of Rabat from 1947 to 1951) who pushed me into the field," he says with a laugh.

Professor Ayache felt that traditional academic approaches to history were not sufficient to explain what he was seeing with his own eyes: Morocco's resistance to colonial domination. He began to tackle the subject, learning Arabic in order to have direct contact with sources. He is especially noted for his book, "Etudes d'Histoire Marocaine" (Editions SMER-Rabat 1978). He has just finished another work close to his heart on the French and Spanish war in the Rif region of Northern Morocco in the 1920's.

A discussion with Professor Ayache on the subject of the Sahara is both fascinating and refreshing. His approach is a pleasing antidote to those discussions in which superficial knowledge only serves to mask firmly-set prejudices.

### No Sands Separating

**QUESTION:** How do you see the role of history in the Sahara's current troubles? And first of all, is a historian qualified to deal with this emotional question?

**AYACHE:** It is true that for a long time I have been interested in what Morocco once was. But in a large part, the past affects the present. So I can take a chance on formulating an opinion within the limits, which alas, are somewhat restrained, of available knowledge. It should be clear that a historian is a man like any other, and that to me Morocco is more than just a case study. It is where I was born, and where I've spent a great deal of my life. I feel attached to the country, and it is precisely this attachment which led me to study its history. I was looking for a way to clarify the problems of conflict

between the colonizers and those who were being colonized. When the historians I turned to seemed to be keeping me away from understanding, rather than helping me, I decided to investigate the subject myself and to reopen the file by working on original materials.

I should also add here something about my attachment to Algeria. It is where my family comes from, and where my brothers and sisters were born. Apart from doing part of my studies there, I've also made frequent visits. Besides that, in the region where I grew up, between Oujda and Berkane, there were many half-Algerian families, and many of my fellow-students and closest friends were Algerians.

You will therefore understand how painful I find the present dispute, which may unfortunately develop at any time into open conflict. I have been told that in the very place where I was born, the soldiers fraternize on both sides of the frontier. It's said that at least for the soldiers, there is no sand separating them. I share this sentiment, and I am horrified at the thought that they may be forced into a mutual massacre. So I shall weigh my words carefully. I don't want to say anything that might cause bitterness.

### An Entire People

**Q:** If the soldiers fraternize as soon as they leave the battlefield, wouldn't this suggest that the fight is one among the leaders of the military, with the nation not feeling involved?

**A:** Some people hold that view, but I disagree. Of course, you will find Moroccans who think that a better life was lived without the Sahara, and that the fight is not worth it in any case. But it was the same before independence, when some people asked: "Who will be my customers if the French leave?" Just remember the number of Frenchmen at that time who loved to repeat these statements! We know now that they were wrong, and that they couldn't see the forest for the trees. Yet for the historian it is the forest that matters. He looks out for the movements of the crowd which are likely to lead to a triumphal tide, and he can discount the words of a few disappointed individuals. That is exactly how the all-powerful protectorate was swept away.

In the case of the Moroccan struggle for the Sahara, it's also an



"It must be clear that to me Morocco is more than just a case study."

example of an entire people rising up. True, some remain skeptical. They shrug their shoulders when one talks of the "Green March". "You could see right through it," they say. The people in this country are still in a virtual state of bondage, in their eyes, and it's not difficult to mobilize ignorant people for the sake of a plate of couscous, and make them parade in front of the cameras. Juin and Guillaume did it with their Berber horsemen, shouting loyalty to the colonizing power.

### Into the Face Of Guns

This massacre no longer tools anyone. These 'advanced' thinkers, some of whom were easily fooled at

the very time of which they speak, are laughing at what is a very serious matter. It is true that the signal for the Green March came from above, but the participants were raring to go. Can one imagine that in two days one million people, of both sexes and all ages, could have shown up if they had not already been impatient to begin? Or that they could have been pushed in a direction which they secretly doubted? Can one imagine that these women and these men, coming from a host of different places, united in one mass, could have walked, singing as they went, right into the face of Spanish guns, while even the gunners didn't know, if they were going to open fire? Can one imagine such a situation, if the people had not decided freely and in advance to sacrifice their lives if

need be? Surely it was not a joke. Even for the incredulous, it was the test of truth. Who would sacrifice himself as a joke?

I can assure you that I don't like being bombastic. But when an event is great I consider it morally wrong to ridicule it. Those French soldiers who defended the Revolution in 1791 were also ragged. And it was Victor Hugo who rightly found them superb. In the same way I believe that the Green March will remain a high spot in Moroccan history. Without a single blow, it served to repulse the Spanish invader. And that stands by itself. For the historian it is proof that the instinct which even in past centuries made the Moroccan people unite for their survival is still there. Because of its importance, this unifying response becomes an element to be reckoned with in history.

### Tribe And Nation

**Q:** If I understand correctly, you are saying that the Green March was inspired by the same spirit as the nationalist movement before independence, which in itself reflected a long-standing tradition which was many centuries old. However, nationalism sometimes seems to be a recent phenomenon in Moroccan history. It was only in the 1930's that a political movement was conceived at a national level and organized. Uprisings before then, although frequent, had been fixed at the tribal or religious level. They had a tendency to encourage dislocation rather than unity.

**A:** Well, there are many preconceived ideas here which need clarification. It is true enough that the nationalist movement was new in the sense that it relied on several kinds of action, particularly political ones, which were unknown in old Morocco bearing in mind the period, and the forces involved. But in the end, what this movement did was to incarnate the masses desire to shake off the burden of foreign exploitation.

To think that these aspirations only date from yesterday is to completely misunderstand the last six centuries of Moroccan history. It is important to remember that in the 1930's, tribes in Morocco remained absolutely intact as geographical, formalized, human groups. That did not stop the Moroccans from the towns and the tribes—all the tribes—coming together to fight as a group. The tribal spirit,

though certainly strong, has not stopped the sentiment of belonging to that much vaster community, which includes the entire Moroccan state.

If tribal feeling and national conscience exist together in the 20th century, there is no reason for us to believe it was any different in the past. In fact, it can be seen as early as the 15th century. Throughout the whole of that century, the economic and military superiority of Europe allowed the Portuguese and Spanish to implant themselves in almost all the ports along the Moroccan coastline. Following this Christian invasion, the following century saw the threat of a Moslem invasion by the Turks, who had already conquered Algeria. If Morocco had been no more than a handful of tribes unwillingly assembled under the rule of a sultan, it would have suffered the same fate as the South American tribes which were annihilated by their foreign conquerors at about this time. The only alternative would have been to accept Turkish subjugation. But the Moroccan tribes did not accept this alternative. Rather than let themselves be conquered one by one, they viewed an attack on any one tribe as an attack on the whole, and reacted as a single group. Note that I emphasize the plural, "tribes," because at this time there was as much a lack of central authority as there was a lack of urban centers. It was only the campaigns themselves that produced the Seadian and Alaouite dynasties which took over the defense of the country, and ultimately led to its liberation. It was a long and cruel process, covering centuries and exhausting the land, yet it established the practice of a collective refusal of foreign control. It anchored the feeling of belonging to a single group, and the feeling that leaders could expect loyalty as long as they fulfilled their duties.

### Competing For Morocco

**Q:** Nevertheless, the result was that Morocco submitted to European domination just like other colonized countries.

**A:** Of course. But in the 19th century, Imperialist Europe had so much power that no other result would have been conceivable for a country, such as Morocco, which was still fairly backward. It's worth noting that the protectorate didn't begin until 1912, while the first assault by the French at the battle of Isly owed, was 68 years before. The

(Continued on the next page)



## MOROCCO TAKES THE FLOOR

# In Search of A Lost Morocco

(Continued from the previous page)

unusually long-lived independence of old Morocco is often held to be due to the fact that at least four European powers were competing for the country. Certainly this factor should be taken into consideration, but at the same time a reverse effect of the competition should be noted. Although each power wanted to be first, and hindered its better placed rivals, each power also struck very hard at the native forces in its own area. The European powers may have stepped in one another's way from time to time, but most of their blows hit home, and that added up.

The old Morocco could not have lasted as long as it did without substantial internal resistance: first from the State, then from that popular resistance which gave force to the State, and took over its role when it failed.

## Vigor And Durability

Q: How would you evaluate the popular refusal which you mentioned?

A: The feelings that translate themselves into collective acts are especially noteworthy to historians. Morocco had been involved in terrible suffering since its first brutal contact with modern Europe, on the Isly oued. The country suffered in many ways, included defeats on the battlefield, heavy and unfair indemnities, the pillage of its resources, the seizure of chunks of its territory, and humiliation and snubs on the part of foreigners who behaved as though they were in a conquered land.

Everyone suffered from the terrible situation which the country was in. But while the leaders and the intelligentsia who understood the power struggle could see no solution to the problem, and so gave in to the powers whose warships aimed their guns at Tangiers, the common people did not resign themselves. They wanted to resist, and were counting on their chief to lead them in battle. When this leader, in the person of Abdelaziz, was shown to be incapable of leadership, his brother Abdelhafid became leader. When, in turn, Abdelhafid surrendered, the people were forced to appoint new regional leaders from their own ranks: El Hiba in the south, Ameziane in the north, then Mohamed Ben Abdelkrim and a number of others. These regional actions were in the end stymied by the French with the help of the Spanish.

All seemed to be solved. Until, that is, the colonizers sensed that rather than breaking the spring of national resistance, they had only compressed it, building up more pressure. That was the origin of the project to divide the country between the Arabs and the Berbers. The result of this project is well known: it gave a crucial impulse to the national movement which for the time being had only existed as a possibility. It shows both the vigor and the durability of the national spirit. Having always existed, it was not something new that could easily be extinguished. It also shows the connection between the Green March and the resistance of earlier centuries, and the hopelessness, now as then, of any attempt to sever this link.

## No Longer Moroccan

Q: It would be more convincing to establish that the Sahara affair has the same liberating sense as the age-old struggle which you have described. If that's not the case, then there's an argument for saying that the patriotic, national spirit has become fixed as mere chauvinism.

A: Again history should be considered more than it usually is. Of course I can't give the whole account in a few brief words, but there are a number of interesting points. Are you aware that as early as 1908 Abdelhafid could not count on Fez his capital without agreeing to engage in the recapture of lost territories? Such demands are therefore not new, and surely it would be absurd to pretend that Morocco could possibly have been trying to capture foreign territory at a time when it was itself being almost strangled. The truth is that the list of territories which Morocco had lost in the previous 50 years was a long one, without counting Ceuta and Melilla, which had been lost long before. Historians have never noticed that as early as 1845 the treaty on determining boundaries with the old Turkish possessions confirmed the annexation of Moroccan tribes by France—a country that had recently acquired control of Algeria, too. The Moroccan tribal delegates happened to be at court, rendering homage to their master on the occasion of the traditional Mouloud festival, when they first saw the treaty and learned, to the great displeasure of the sultan and themselves, that they were no longer Moroccan! I could also mention the oases of Touat, of Gourara, of Tidikelt and the valley of the three oueds, the

Zoufana, the Guir, the Saoura, an immense region which became an Algerian possession on that day. In 1890, the French ambassador Patenôtre said quite frankly to Moulay el-Hassan: "Of course Touat belongs to us?" Not liking the logic of this situation, the sultan hurriedly took the defensive measures which the situation demanded. But the question was settled just ten years later with Abdelaziz, who was already too weak to resist. A few months later, after several battles, France took both Touat and the region around it.

Finally I could tell you about the stretches which border the Draa oued, and which today include southern Morocco down to Tindouf and its iron deposits. Tindouf was itself quickly annexed by France when it became clear that the rest of Morocco would escape its domination. It is this whole region which the Moroccans wanted to recover in 1908.

The first reason for doing so was that it was their land. The second reason was to prevent it from becoming a stranglehold in the hands of the French. I might point out that the Moroccans did not speak of the lost land once the Algerian war led to the retreat of the French. They forgot all about the land, thinking that in becoming Algerian once and for all, it would fall back into the great Maghreb family that was going to be built. Morocco reduced its demands to just those pieces of land that were still in the hands of a colonial power, which happened to be Spain. For it was Spain, which while already installed in Ceuta and Melilla in the north, and with the consent of the French, closed the loop in the south between Tindouf and the ocean.

## World Opinion

As for Melilla and Ceuta, the dispute remains unresolved. In the case of the south, both Tarfaya, and more recently the Ifni enclave, have been returned. But these are only fragments, and the essential part, Oued Dahab and Saquia el-Hamra, was steered towards integration with the Spanish possessions under the form of a supposed independent State. It seemed that nothing could prevent this from happening. Neither military action at the beginning, when the resistance fighters of the liberation, who were masters of the terrain, were thrown back by a French attack from the east, nor the intervention of the UN, that organization where it seems procedural motions reign supreme. Nothing less than the mobilization of world opinion was needed before victory was achieved over the occupying force.

It's hard to overestimate how

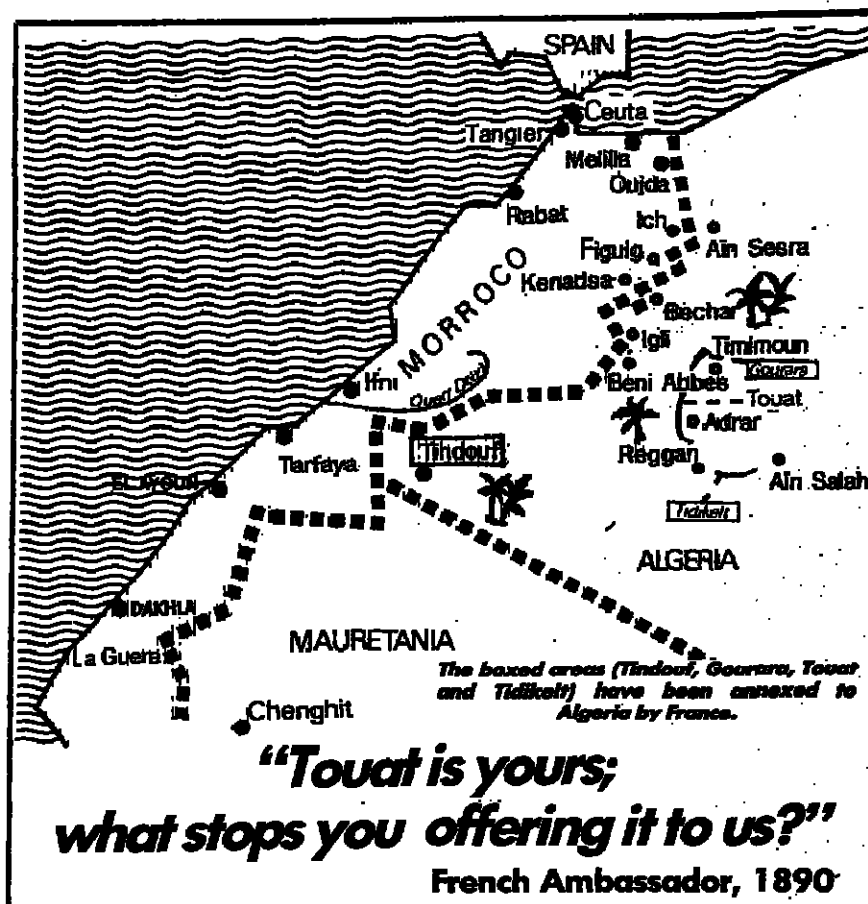
moved the Moroccan people were, and how moved they remain, by this peaceful triumph, which removed one of the last marks Imperial Europe left on a still stained Africa. But it's easy to understand the hurt and anger which Moroccans felt on seeing that their brothers in battle were not sharing in this joy, but were contesting its legitimacy, and were soon to concentrate on removing the only scrap of lost belongings that Morocco had been able to recover.

## Which Sahraoui People?

Q: You speak of Morocco opposing Spain and then Algeria, but you leave aside the Sahraoui people, who have been recognized by international agreement to have a right to choose their own destiny.

A: If you ask me for a historical opinion, you cannot reproach me for not mentioning that which is not to be found in history. A people is far too great a thing to hide up one's sleeve. It is noticed, and it distinguishes itself from other nations by the space it occupies, or by its state of development, or the weight it exerts on other nations, or just the resistance it musters. Yet before 1912, when a Moroccan merchant passed beyond Tarfaya, towards the south, he had no frontier to cross, no passport to produce, no customs to pay, no license or statement to show, and no money to change. At evening stopover points, he would meet other merchants who were going towards the north, to Tiznit, Es-Saouira or Safi. They might come from Atar or Chenghit but they spoke his language and joined together in prayers which all recited with one voice. Exchanging news in the evening, they expressed the same apprehensions about the French, who were progressing in Niger, in Senegal and in Algeria. The traders' joint concerns were shared between Mael-Alnin and their new sultan Abdelhafid, each of whom stood for their common defense, one in the north, the other in the south. So it went on, until the end of the merchant's voyage, whether the trip was along the coast or through the interior.

Now this example raises an interesting question. Where was this Sahraoui nation hidden, among whom all these very Moroccan merchants would have recognized themselves as foreigners? Where were its frontiers? Or lacking frontiers, where was its sphere of influence, or even its lair? Although well-placed by virtue of having occupied the country for many years, the Spanish themselves never discovered it. If they had, they would certainly have raised the existence of the Sahraoui people as a bargaining point in the negotiations with Morocco over the right Morocco had to be



there. But instead, Spain's only argument was to say that before their own arrival, the Sahara had been a no man's land, a "terra nullius." So five years ago when the question was being raised, they had no knowledge, and for good reason, of the Sahraoui people. They had no greater knowledge of them 75 years earlier, when following the example of Patenôtre in the Touat question, they addressed themselves to the sultan, and not to any Sahraoui nation, in an effort to obtain the return of Saquia-el-Hamra, which is today claimed by the alleged Sahraoui nation.

Q: Is it certain that these various regions of the Sahara, despite their resemblance and the links between them, were really under the sovereign authority of the sultan? A French person, for example, feels at ease in Brussels, Montreal or Geneva, but that doesn't mean that those cities are necessarily French.

A: He does not feel strange as long as he conforms to the status of being a foreigner, something that was never the case on either side of the Draa oued. But that being the case, Spain at least never questioned this sovereign authority. Otherwise it would never have asked the sultan for something which it did not believe was his. I repeat that this was in 1900, at a time when there was not yet any interest in misrepresenting things.

## Man From Chenghit

As for France, you have only to look at the documents long since published by the French government under the title, note, of "Moroccan Affairs". You will see the complaints of the officers whose troops, coming from Senegal or Niger, were fighting in the Adar or elsewhere against tribes whose top men were named by the sultan. I emphasize "complaints", because France was contesting the

rights of the sultan for its own special reasons. But the tribes which followed the top men did not contest these rights. Moreover, and this is a rare but significant find, there is an author from Chenghit in the middle of Mauritania, who signed his work "Ahmed Amine, the man from Chenghit, the Moroccan". That is already clear enough. Even more so, in a book of his dating from 1911, he accused an Egyptian of ignorance when that man argued with a man from Chenghit about his Moroccan nationality. All these facts are from a period when no one foresaw the present debate. Therefore I am arguing from a historical point of view, rather than from the standpoint of a pragmatist.

## The Sultan's Authority

Q: But shouldn't the historian ask himself if this authority was not imposed like a yoke on tribes that didn't really want it? That would be enough to explain and to justify a desire to be free.

A: When a nation refuses to be subjected to an authority, the resulting conflicts do not go unnoticed. We know, for example, of the repercussions for the whole world of the disputes of the Greeks with the Turks, or the Irish with the British Crown. If the Sahraoui also had quarrels with another power any chronicler, even a local one, would have spoken about it. For chroniclers love subjects like that, and habitually write them into the main part of what they have to say, right along with the accounts of famines and epidemics. Moreover, there is the question of which oppressor or which exploiter the Sahraoui were supposed to have rebelled against. The sultan could not have taken much of a tax from their meager oases, spread out as they were in the desert. What method did he have at that time, without jeeps,

landrovers or planes, of maintaining garrisons or sending in the armed columns needed to keep in line or even quash rebels and opponents? It's often been said that the sultan's role was limited to paying the soldiers for levying taxes, while the soldiers levied taxes in order to get paid. This idea of linking taxes with highly visible means of control is a fundamental part of the idea of the state as it developed in Western Europe. It is so strongly held that the judges of the International Court of Justice in the Hague, good jurists though poor historians that they be, ruled that there was no sultan who fulfilled the role of sovereign in the region, albeit that the tribes who lived there did give their allegiance to this very same sultan. This is like defining a ruler without subjects, or subjects without a ruler.

What was beyond the grasp of the judges at The Hague was that over all Morocco—and so over all the Sahara—the sultan could make use of the devoted support of outstanding figures who were viewed as saints, and whose influence weighed much more strongly on the people than even a conventional army would have. What the judges didn't know was that this allegiance resulted from the need that the tribes had of the sultan's authority, especially in the settling of their disputes, and that if the sultan showed any inability to fulfill this authority, the tribes' allegiance would be withdrawn. What's more, the judges in The Hague did not know that the Saharan tribes greatly benefited from the Moroccan trade routes, which ran through their land, and that by agreeing to police the routes at the sultan's request, they had become an integral part of the Moroccan state.

The International Court's decision does, however, have some merit, for it clearly recognizes the fact of allegiance to the sultan, and so makes nonsense of its own ruling in which this sovereignty is denied. Also, by remaining blind to the special form of the actual authority, the judges at least came out against the view that the so-called Sahraoui people were suffering under some yoke.

Q: Just now, you spoke of the anger of the Moroccans. Then you spoke of the only minor interest which the Sahara had offered to the sultans in the past. Shouldn't one conclude that the Sahara is nothing more than an affair of pride for the Moroccans, and that their stubbornness in staying put there is mostly a matter of emotion, while in important matters like this reason alone ought to weigh most heavily?

## A Free Passage

A: That is quite an exaggeration. It's true that Morocco has lived without the Sahara, just as it lived, and still lives, without Melilla and Ceuta. But it also lived for quite a time cut into slices, dominated here by the French, and there by the Spanish. This is where your logic can lead you. One must not confuse living fully with barely surviving.

Now, I pointed out earlier that the Sahara offered nothing of interest for the tax authorities. Yet that doesn't mean that it's had no other important functions to fulfill. As is too easily forgotten, the Sahara is not a country, but a desert, a sea of sand and rocks from which only a few isolated islands of life emerge—the oases. The Sahara has never been a province like the others. Its importance for the south of Morocco has been like the importance of the Mediterranean for the north of the country. You can see what I mean by picturing the Mediterranean and then replacing the waves by sand dunes, and the boats by camels. The critical thing in the desert was not so much to occupy space and become installed there, but to be able to cross it just as one crosses the sea, completely freely on the way both into and out of ports. So Sijilmasa was, in the past, the Venice of the desert, where caravans travelling from the Sudan would flock. At the edge of the desert Sijilmasa played the same role as Ceuta did at the edge of the Mediterranean world. The loss of Ceuta and then of Melilla marked the decline of the Morocco which had been so brilliant in the past. Paralyzed in the north, life in the south could only languish, and Sijilmasa disappeared. Other smaller centers clung on nevertheless, as the desert passage remained open. That's how it stayed, at least till the moment when France on one side and Spain on the other came to wall up the edge of the desert, from one end to the other, from Figulg to the mouth of the Draa river.

Now that Morocco has reasserted its independence, its goal is to flourish, and not just survive. The prerequisite for this, as it has always been, is to keep its windows open, and breathe from the north by recovering Ceuta and Melilla, while breathing freely in the south by regaining free passage through the regions of the Sahara. The first part of the program is still waiting to be dealt with. As for the second part, it was hardly resolved before other hands were eager to rebuild the destroyed barrier. I hope this explains that the anger we've discussed does not result from wounded pride, but from a threat to the future of a nation which has fought for centuries before finding hope.



Mohamed Ben Abdelkrim during the Rif war.

**Old Morocco could not have lasted as long without that popular resistance which gave force to the State**

**Even in 1908 Abdelhafid could not count on the support of Fez, his capital, without agreeing to engage in the recapture of lost territories**



Sultan Abdelhafid in Paris.



## MOROCCO TAKES THE FLOOR

مكازم التهم

## A Shrinking Expansionism

At times it seems that almost everyone interested in Morocco has heard of the famous map of Allal el-Fassi, leader of the Istiqlal, Morocco's nationalist party. First published the day after the kingdom's independence was declared in March 1956, the map outlines the contours of a "Greater Morocco." It took in the Algerian region of Tindouf, the entire western Sahara, Mauritania and parts of Mali. It is hardly surprising then that anyone analyzing the question of Morocco's frontiers would immediately conjure up the picture of an expansionist country with few scruples about violating the principles of respect for colonial frontiers that the O.A.U. (Organization for African Unity) laid down in 1963.

But let's leave Allal el-Fassi and his nostalgia for a historic Morocco, and try to approach the problem "objectively." Why not take a look at the map of Morocco which has been printed over the years in the "Encyclopedia Larousse." There is an incontestable advantage in this. Larousse is an authority that few would accuse of being biased.

The first surprising observation (see table) is that far from expanding at the expense of its neighbors, Morocco has in fact shrunk since the institution of the Spanish and French protectorates. Thus in 1888, Larousse's Grand Universal Dictionary described the surface area of the Moroccan Empire as being 812,300 square kilometers. In 1900, the New Illustrated Larousse reported it as only 800,000 square kilometers. When independence was declared, Morocco had only 430,810 square kilometers. After

the regaining of Spanish Morocco (April 1956), Tangiers (October 1956), the Tarfaya region (1958), the Ifni enclave (1969), Saquia el-Hamra (1976) and Oued Dahab (Rio de Oro) (1979), the country was still barely more than 700,000 square kilometers!

If words have any meaning, it is thus impossible to talk about expansionism. But hasn't Morocco nevertheless transgressed the sacrosanct African rule of respect for colonial frontiers, since it hasn't ceased to nibble away at territories that were submitted to international jurisdiction (Tangiers), or the jurisdictions of Spain (Spanish Morocco, Tarfaya, Ifni, Saquia el-Hamra) or Mauritania (Oued Dahab)?

## Lines of Demarcation

An objection on principle to begin with: it is necessary, as Montesquieu would say, to examine the spirit of the laws and international regulations.

If the "African wisemen" decided in 1963 to impose the old colonial frontiers as definitive boundaries, it was to ensure that the black continent's independent states wouldn't engage in perpetual fights among themselves. The need was there because these states had been created either as compromises in the power struggles of European countries, or as the result of arbitrary administrative divisions, often carried out with a straight-edge and T-square on the drawing board. The result was the

arbitrary separation of members of the same tribe or ethnic group. The O.A.U. leaders resigned themselves to accepting the colonial frontiers as the lesser evil, but it was never their intention to prevent the few African nation-states which existed before colonization from regaining their rightful territory at the expense of foreign powers. Quite the contrary! Didn't the O.A.U. confirm the recovery of the Tarfaya region by Rabat in April 1958? The region was an integral part of the western Sahara, the same as Saquia el-Hamra and Oued Dahab. Didn't Africa approve Spain's return of the Ifni enclave to Morocco in 1969? In the same way, the dark continent showed solidarity with Angola, which rejects the Cabinda separatist movement, and with the Namibians, who refuse to abandon the Walvis Bay enclave to the South African colonialists.

There is even more! The principle of respect for colonial frontiers cannot be applied to Morocco. First of all the multiplicity of administrative powers (France, Spain, International Authority) and the rivalries that never ceased to oppose each other, the countless border corrections and the contestations which resulted, have always made it impossible to clearly define the different zones of foreign influence. At the interior of many of these regions, numerous areas refused to submit. It took no less than eight bloody campaigns between 1903 and 1934 before the French Army succeeded in "pacifying" its part of Morocco. As for Spain, it spent more than 70 years trying to establish complete control over its tiny enclave of Ifni (1920



Leader of the Istiqlal Allal el-Fassi, who died in 1974.

square kilometers), and nearly 400 years (the 15th century to 1916) to take over the entire western Sahara.

What is more, the major part of Morocco's territory was never colonized, but was only put under French

## Evolution of Moroccan land area

According to Larousse.

Date	Land area
1888	812 300 km <sup>2</sup> (c.f. 2nd supplement of Grand Dictionnaire universel Larousse 1888)
1900	800 000 km <sup>2</sup> (c.f. Nouveau Larousse illustré 1891-1904)
1956	430 810 km <sup>2</sup> (comprising ex French Morocco, ex Spanish Morocco and Tangier)
1958 (after the return of the Tarfaya zone)	458 810 km <sup>2</sup>
1969 (after the return of Ifni)	458 730 km <sup>2</sup>
1976 (after the return of Saquia el-Hamra)	608 730 km <sup>2</sup>
1979 (after the recovery of Oued Dahab)	703 030 km <sup>2</sup>

and Spanish protectorates, or in the case of Tangiers, submitted to international administrative authority. In concrete terms, that means that the Sultan of Morocco was legally always the sovereign of all his territories, and the territorial unity of Morocco was never questioned by the different occupiers to whom the sultan "delegated" part of his power.

And when France recognized the independence of the Moroccan territory it had occupied in 1956, it formally

agreed to: "work for the liberation of Moroccan territory still administered by Spain."

One conclusion imposes itself: colonial frontiers never separated the various parts of Morocco. All that was there were provisional lines of demarcation. Thus each time from 1956 to 1976 that an administrative power has been forced by Morocco's national movement to vacate an occupied territory, it has naturally returned it to the authorities in Rabat.

## Strategy Against War

The Chinese sages used to say that only he who fears war has a chance of winning it. Hassan II's political strategy for the Sahara, which he has made his special domain, often disorients even the most sympathetic observers. Certain inconsistencies (such as threatening to retaliate and then not following through, a certain maladroitness towards the OAU in particular, and false maneuvers such as filing a complaint before the UN Security Council and then withdrawing it at the last moment) might create the impression of an absence of strategic vision. Nevertheless the facts demonstrate the opposite: in 1975, Hassan II just managed to snatch Saquia el-Hamra away from Spain in the nick of time. In 1979, he enlarged it by adding the Rio de Oro, abandoned by Mauritania. All of that was accomplished without the Polisario, which it is true had been celebrating a year of minor military victories, though not seriously contesting the control of the terrain by Moroccan troops.

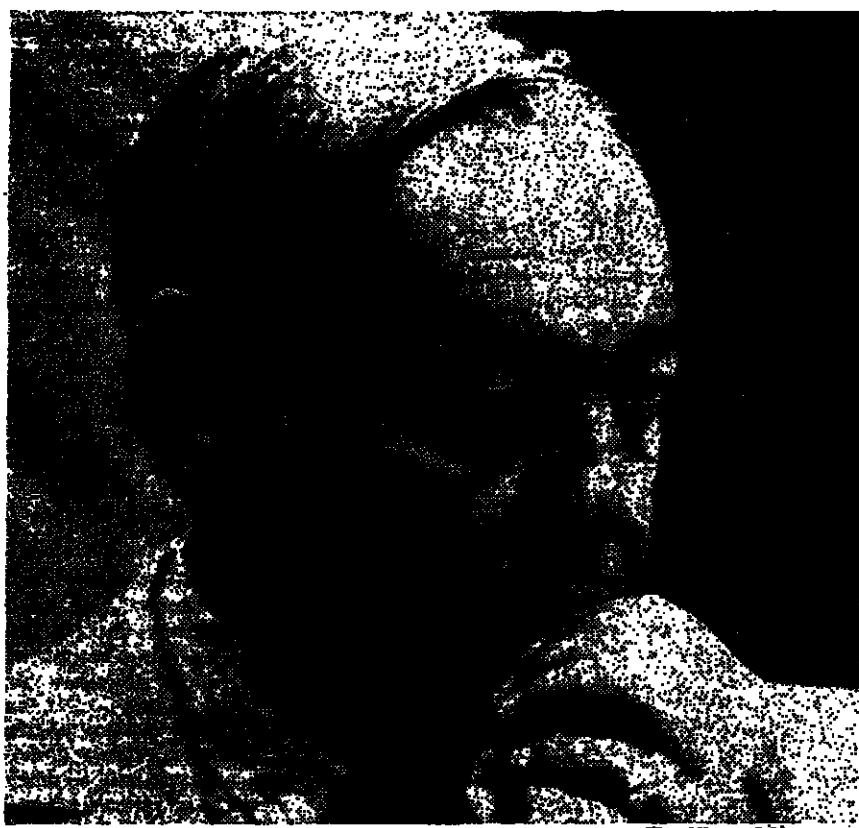
The nearly 40 diplomatic recognitions granted by the RASD (Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic) and the favorable votes gained at the OAU and the UN are today counterbalanced by an Arab and international alignment which Hassan II exploits adroitly.

Nevertheless a daily look at the Sahara conflict gives the impression of diplomatic ups and downs, a cyclical evolution, and a long series of military successes and failures, alternating between rumours of peace with Algeria, and the sound of marching boots.

## A Peaceful Solution

This apparently chaotic progression of events can be explained by the constraints which Hassan II has imposed on himself: that is to preserve the Sahara without declaring war on Algeria. The King's conduct can be summed up in the title of a book by Leo Hamon: "Strategy against War." The principle gives substance to the dramas and events that have marked the conflict from Morocco's independence until now. They reveal an astonishing continuity in actions from Mohamed V to Hassan II.

The monarch, Mohamed V, had to devote all his attention immediately after independence to consolidating his power, before liberating the rest of the territory. Even more so because he had every reason to believe — who didn't at the time? — that Spain would finish by evacuating the south peacefully as she had just done in the north, where she had, to her credit, supported the Moroccan resistance. The Cherifian government had remarked on the act of independence that it had reservations concerning territories which had not yet been returned, including of course, the western Sahara. Spain showed its good faith in 1958 by ceding to Morocco the city of Tarfaya which at the time was under Spanish jurisdiction. In 1958, Madrid



The King of Morocco.

opened discussions with Morocco's prime minister, Abdallah Ibrahim, and did not in anyway exclude the possibility of abandoning the Saquia el-Hamra and the Rio de Oro.

In brief the Palace had every reason to favor searching a diplomatic solution. But what looked as though it would come naturally, became problematical when the Spanish discovered phosphates in 1963.

Despite an uproar from the UN, the Spanish began investing in the desert in order to mark their new decision not to give up the Sahara.

Rabat, however, continued to be-

lieve in a peaceful solution. Morocco could not believe that in this era of decolonialization, Spain would dare to resist pressure from the international community for long. Spain nevertheless found two unexpected allies: Algeria and Mauritania. Algeria's involvement dated back to 1966, when the foreign minister at the time, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, declared Algeria to be "concerned and interested."

A short while earlier, a certain Ahmed Baba Miské, who at the time represented Mauritania at the UN, announced without mincing words that Mauritania had pretensions to the



Polisario fighters at Tindouf in Algeria.

Like his father Mohamed V, Hassan II continues to believe in the virtues of diplomacy

western Sahara based on tribal affinities. That was fair enough. Morocco had never recognized Mauritania. In 1970, Hassan II thought he could solve the impasse by granting Mauritania diplomatic recognition. It didn't work. Mauritania's president, Ould Daddah refused to withdraw his claim to the Sahara. Mauritania's attitude was understandable. Spain's presence in the Sahara had been gratefully received by Mauritania since it provided a buffer between Morocco and the new republic.

From that point on, Rabat had to deal with an adversary, Spain, and two

competitors, Algeria and Mauritania. Public opinion in Morocco was aroused. The opposition sounded the alarm. The UNFP, the Istiqlal and the PLS (PC) demanded the liberation of the territory. Following the example of Mohamed V, Hassan II refused to let go of his "pacifist" convictions. He continued to believe in the virtues of diplomacy. It was nevertheless in the diplomatic arena that Spain forced Hassan II against the wall, saying in substance, "you wanted the UN to decide. Very well, we are going to provoke a referendum for self rule, which has already been accepted in principle by Morocco." The conclusion of such a referendum could not be doubted by anyone. It would mean the creation of a mini-state of Saharawi, an independent client of Spain. Madrid had good principles, and sound sense, on its side.

## A Master Stroke

Hassan II's position was highly uncomfortable. Was Morocco to lose the Sahara because of his mistake? Wasn't the impasse the result of his determination to find a diplomatic solution? The political parties were in an uproar. Abderrahim Bouabid and Mohamed Boucetta declared themselves ready to put aside their differences with the King. The left advocated a general mobilization. The military situation was tense. In September 1974, Hassan II began concentrating troops on his southern border. An armed confrontation between Spain and Morocco seemed imminent. The King held a press conference on September 17.

Was he going to announce war on Spain? Many believed it. A theatrical stroke: Hassan II decided to take his case to the International Court at the Hague. The move was a master stroke. By appealing to the Hague, Hassan II avoided the danger of war with Spain, and at the same time delayed any danger of a vote in the UN on the right to self rule of the Saharawi.

## Difficult Nomads

Ingenuity aside, the Moroccan refusal to allow a referendum on the part of the Saharawi people shocked the democratic sensibilities of more than a few. The King only succeeded in winning the argument by demonstrating the impossibility of having a free election in the Sahara. According to him, of 70,000 inhabitants reported in census surveys by Spanish authorities, only 20,000 remained in one place long enough to be able to vote. But because they are vulnerable to pressure from the Spanish army and civil administration, they are precisely the ones who would never vote in favor of reintegration with Morocco.

The nomads, who are dispersed and difficult to count in census studies, would never vote in any large number. Many of those who did accept to vote would be shocked by some of the questions — allegiance to the King being a religious matter — and others would simply not understand. Finally, how would one consult the 20,000 Saharawi who took refuge in southern Morocco?

Hassan II had certainly tried. He could only succeed if his representati-



In a referendum, many of the tribesmen are shocked by some of the questions



## MOROCCO TAKES THE FLOOR

# Strategy Against War

*To liberate the Sahara Kaddafi put his troops and Idi Amin his suicide squads at the disposition of Morocco*



The Libyan  
Chief of State.

(Continued from the previous page)

ves were able to rally a majority at the UN General Assembly and convince them to follow the decision of the International Court.

But the debate in New York began under less than auspicious circumstances for Morocco. The president of the General Assembly that year was Algeria's Abdelaziz Bouteflika. Algeria, Spain and Mauritania joined forces against Morocco. The presence of Mauritania in the enemy camp was the most serious handicap for Rabat. Bouteflika had in effect convinced numerous delegations that if the Sahara were ceded to Morocco, little Mauritania would be directly exposed to the territorial appetite of the Moroccans. Once again the situation looked desperate.

Hassan II was to succeed with a second master stroke: he offered Mauritania the southern part of the western Sahara. Mauritania accepted and in exchange supported Morocco's initiative to call for arbitration from the International Court. The gamble had paid off. The General Assembly voted on December 21, 1974 to ask the International Court to adjudicate. Hassan II had cut the ground from under Bouteflika's feet.

In the first half of 1975, the Sahara was seized by violence. To the raids by the pro-Algerian Polisario, were added assaults against the Spanish Army by the Front for the Liberation and Unity of Morocco, whose formation had been announced on March 21. Morocco's case seemed so just that Kaddafi offered to put his troops at the disposition of Hassan II, and Idi Amin offered his suicide squads to help liberate the Moroccan Sahara. The unexpected support from the chiefs of state of Libya and Uganda was a meager consolation.

## Warnings From Algeria

The Moroccans received two bad pieces of news. On October 15, a UN commission that had investigated the Sahara, published its report stating that the Saharoui people wanted their independence. On October 16, the International Court at the Hague delivered its verdict. Before the Spanish penetration, the western Sahara was not "terra nullius." Morocco could not use the allegiances of the Saharoui tribes to the King of Morocco in order to refuse them the right to self rule.

Hassan II had gained one year, but he found himself once again with his back to the wall. He was to play a magnificent trump card. He announced the Green March with 350,000 men and women in order to peacefully regain the Sahara.

On October 21, a first contingent of 20,000 marchers led by the Prime Minister, Ahmed Osman, started off from Ksar-el-Souk to rally at Tarfaya. Hassan II had chosen the Koran instead of the rifle. He paid no attention to warnings from Algeria.

The UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim made a desperate attempt at reconciliation. In Algiers, there was talk that Algeria would answer the Green March with war. On November 2, Algeria, at the same time as Spain, repeated its threats to the UN Security Council. But Madrid hesitated shortly afterwards. It was going through a governmental crisis.

Franco had fallen ill on October 17. Everyone knew that he would die; Hassan II had not chosen his moment by chance. Morocco had every reason to fear an Algerian-Polisario-Spanish axis, especially since Spain and the Polisario had managed a spectacular reconciliation. Moroccan and Algerian delegations had followed one after another to Madrid where both sides had allies. Hadn't the Spanish-Algerian warning on November 2, been prece-



Ibrahim Hakkin RASD Foreign Minister.

## Secret overtures were made to the Moroccans

ded by a visit to Madrid by Boumediene's emissaries, "the commando," as they were baptized at the time? The group included Algerian interior minister Ahmed Abdel-Ghani and Colonel Slimane Hoffman. Four days after the official start of the Green March, Mokhtar Ould Dadda went to Algiers where he met Boumediene. The Mauretanian head of state did not give in to the blackmail with which the Algerian chief of state threatened him.

For reasons that still have not been completely clarified, but in which Moroccan determination certainly played a major role, Spain finally decided to hand the western Sahara back to Morocco and Mauritania. The Madrid Accord was signed on November 14, 1975.

Once again, Hassan II had played diplomacy against war and had won. Shortly afterwards, he believed that he could say with evident pride, "The

case is closed." The Sahara affair had become in his eyes a simple police matter. Gen. Dlimi, not without some bloody confrontations, managed to dislodge the Polisario, who retreated to Algeria, taking with them as many civilians as they could round up. But Hassan had not counted on the pugnaciousness of the Algerians. Humiliated, they began to exact their first vengeance. In December they expelled 26,000 Moroccan residents. In January 1976, they sent an armed contingent to Angala, where they suffered a crushing defeat. Algeria would try once again to avenge its honor.

But all that was little more than child's play. Boumediene's real card was clearly the Polisario, which proclaimed on January 28, 1976, the birth of the Saharoui Arab Democratic Republic (RASD). On the 28th, the President of Madagascar (the Malagasy Republic), who had up to that

Amin of Uganda.



point never publicly displayed any expertise on the issue of the Sahara, became the first to recognise the new "state."

But on the whole, in 1976, Rabat had reasons for being optimistic. In the first half of the year, the Polisario was beaten and chased in the north as well as the south. In April, after a heavy battle, it lost its last stronghold: Guelta Zemmur. Even if it fought hard throughout the summer, it seemed condemned to be reduced to a modest guerilla warfare. It began to try to catch up on the diplomatic front. It found that it was not well enough known to win any victories. The following year, 1977, also looked gray. The Polisario had new equipment, but its attacks represented little more than an easily supportable annoyance for the FAR (Forces of the Royal Army).

Morocco's worsening diplomatic position—refusal of President Carter to deliver arms to Morocco—was barely perceptible. For many the region seemed to be having a brief moment of peace. Saudi attempts at mediation seemed to have influenced the Algerians to the point where the RASD Minister of Foreign Affairs Ibrahim Hakim, had started making secret overtures to the Moroccans. In October, Bouteflika delivered a speech at the UN which unsettled the Polisario. He made no mention in it of the right of the Saharoui people to self rule. Instead, he was content to demand that the Polisario occupy the "place it deserved" in any eventual peace negotiation. The French military intervention following the attacks against the railroad at Zouerate in Mauritania provoked the anger of Boumediene, who once again hardened his position.

But the events of 1976 and 1977 seemed to support Hassan II. Even if the conflict was taking longer than expected, it did not yet seem to present a serious threat.

The critical date which would mark a reversal of the pattern was July 10, 1978, when Mokhtar Ould Dadda was overthrown. His successors vowed their determination to get Mauritania out of the war, regardless of the cost. On July 12, the Polisario adroitly decreed a unilateral ceasefire with Mauritania. It would in the future reserve its punches exclusively for the Moroccan army.

Condemned and paralyzed by a defensive strategy, the Royal Army suffered blows without being able to reply. Hassan II was once again pushed into what seemed to be his last stand. He threatened several times to exercise his right of pursuit. He even gave a written order to his officers to exercise it. But neither the Polisario nor the Algerians seemed to pay it any heed, and redoubled their military efforts.

## Driven To Despair

More serious, Moroccans themselves could not understand. The King was compelled to reassure them by re-taking the oath of the Green March (in which he swore not to abandon the smallest piece of the Sahara).

To the opposition parties which were growing impatient, Hassan II responded by creating a national security council in which he included their representatives. The army for its part could only go along. The monarch was even unable to offer his subjects a few diplomatic successes as a consolation.

Wherever one went, there was only talk of war. Hassan II had no other choice but to cross swords with Algeria. The withdrawal of Mauritania, formalized by the accords signed on August 5, 1979 in Algiers between the Polisario and Mauritania, ended by driving the Moroccans to despair.

In contrast, for the King this

setback seemed to be an unhelpful opportunity to reverse the situation. He immediately ordered his army to occupy Tiris el-Gharbia (Rio de Oro). His most vociferous foreign critics kept silent. The audacity had impressed them. Morocco was not at war as many believed, but the festival of allegiance by the citizens of Dakhla was hardly over before the Polisario launched a series of reckless raids against Moroccan garrisons.

Once again Morocco was in a difficult position. Hassan II had certainly preserved, and even extended, the essential, that is to say, the territory. But could he control it? After the attack on Smara (October 6, 1979) the King corrected the situation once again by inaugurating a new strategy, that of deploying mobile armored columns, with the launching of Operation Ouhoud entrusted to General Dlimi. A relative calm returned.

Hassan seemed to have found an answer (a costly one) to the Polisario attacks, which allowed him to avoid going to war with Algeria.

But the desert is not well suited to prolonging stable situations. Morocco was only able to breathe easily for four months—the time it took the Polisario to organize a counter-attack. It inflicted a double military and political defeat on Morocco last March at Ouarkiz, in an uncontested region of the kingdom. Would the Moroccans be unable to control a former part of their own territory?

## Principal Objective

We are forced to end on another question: what is Hassan II going to do? The fighting during March showed, if it was still necessary, that the Polisario is supporting itself along the Algerian frontier. If the defeat at Ouarkiz was not an accident, how will the King address the military situation once more without aggravating the tension with Algeria? Why is he still holding on to this strategy which opposes war?

There is no single answer to this question. First of all there is an objective fact that should be considered. In 1975, when the conflict broke out, the Royal Army was not prepared. In military matters five years is not very long. A long time is needed to receive material that has been ordered. And much more time is needed to train a sound staff officer. Would Hassan II prepare for war if nothing were lacking? The aborted meeting with Boumediene, and the history of the conflict, shows that he has done everything to avoid war.

His principal objective is to preserve territory, warding off the few, hard blows as well as he can, while waiting for a peaceful solution. In his eyes, war solves nothing. During the 1963 conflict with Algeria, Hassan II, who was in the stronger position, voluntarily held back and then withdrew his troops, who had advanced deep into Algerian territory only a few kilometers from Tindouf. There is no doubt that he thinks that war with his neighbor would create such shock and animosity as to lastingly compromise the future.

Moroccan volunteers in Figuig during the 1963 conflict with Algeria.



*Hassan II  
withdrew his  
army who had  
advanced deep  
into Algerian  
territory*



## BUSINESS NEWS BRIEFS

### &P Chief Centralizes Chain Operations

ONTVALE, New Jersey, June 23 (AP-DJ) — James Wood, barely two months in the top job at Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea, has drastically altered the way A&P supermarkets are run. Operations of the loss-plagued supermarket chain depend on operating divisions. Each does its own buying and merchandising while also tending day-to-day matters at anywhere between 27 and 130 stores. Mr. Wood centralized buying, merchandising and distribution by assigning them to a new "geographic groups," which, he said, will "achieve closer coordination and control."

### Ford to Cut Imports Into Britain in Half

NDON, June 23 (Reuters) — Ford Motors said it has halved its imports into Britain because of a sharp drop in total new car sales. The company said it was importing about 800 cars a month from continental European plants to meet demand. Industry sources estimate that new car sales in Britain will fall to 1.5 million compared with 1.7 million last year when Ford imports accounted for about 14 percent of the total market.

### ba-Geigy Sues Nalco Over Laboratory Tests

HICAGO, June 23 (AP-DJ) — Nalco Chemical was hit with another in a series of lawsuits charging negligent laboratory testing at its central Bio-Test Laboratories subsidiary. The-Geigy, an Ardsley, New York, unit of Ciba-Geigy, the Swiss pharmaceuticals and chemicals concern, filed suit in New York State court. The charges "inaccurate and inadequate" work in testing chemicals from 1977 and asks damages of more than \$10 million. The-Geigy unit charged "serious deficiencies" in work done by Nalco and the Bio-Test unit on about 100 of Ciba-Geigy's chemicals for which registration by the Environmental Protection Agency was required. No officials could be reached for comment over the weekend.

### Moulinex to Shut Plants for 5 Days

IS, June 23 (AP-DJ) — Moulinex, a major European manufacturer of electrical household appliances, yesterday told its workers' committee it intends to shut down the company's 13 plants for five days in July to falling sales. The move will mean the temporary layoff of Moulinex's 10,700 workers. The company said the five-day closure would reduce stocks, which represent 60 days' production, to more normal levels.

## Role of U.S. Ex-Im Bank Is Criticized As Budget Crunch Threatens Lending

By Judith Miller

NEW YORK, June 23 (NYT) — Export-Import Bank, incorporated by Congress in 1945 to help finance the sale of U.S. exports, is being criticized by growing numbers of senators and an impending budget crunch that threatens the bank's lending activities.

Although the fiscal year 1980 is set nine months over, Congress has not yet authorized the agency's budget, and with three months left in the fiscal year, the Ex-Im Bank has less than \$10 million of its \$3.75 billion in loan authority left. In addition, the Ex-Im Bank, endeavoring to maintain an extremely high level of credit, has already made more than \$2 billion in preliminary commitments to finance exports out of its 1981 budget.

The bank is literally mortgaging its future lending authority, said William Stengel, a bank director and one of the agency's most fervent exponents. Although the bank's budget crisis is in the congressional effort to balance its overall expenditures, many analysts say leadership of John Moore Jr., a Florida lawyer appointed president of the bank in May, 1977, by President Carter, has aggravated the agency's financial predicament.

Some key developments: More than 50 percent of the direct loan authority is committed to help finance the sale of aircraft abroad, a practice that William Proxmire, D-Wis., chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, and three other senior committee members have charged export assistance to smaller companies that face competition.

The bank has provided direct support for the export sale of aircraft that appear to have no competition from foreign airlines. The four senators charged that this practice is "full and unnecessary."

Mr. Moore declined to comment on criticism of his management style. But Griff Ellison, the bank's vice president for public affairs, defended Mr. Moore's record. Mr. Moore's travel, he said, was partially at the request of the White House, which had asked him to make at least three trips to Africa, the Middle East, and to a state funeral. In addition, Mr. Moore is serving as the first American chairman of the Bern Council, a group of private and government export promotion agencies that holds quarterly meetings that Mr. Moore must attend.

On aircraft, Mr. Ellison contends that the proportion of aircraft sales is high but that "the bank does not determine the marketplace." "We can't determine which exports will get the orders," Mr. Ellison said.

Aircraft Projects He also called the financing of aircraft and other projects without direct foreign competition "the exception, not the rule." However, he added that the bank's mandate is to "supplement not compete with financing from the private sector."

The bank therefore must sometimes assist sales that do not face foreign competition simply because commercial banks are unwilling in some cases to extend the long-term credit needed, he added.

Mr. Moore spent more than 200 days last year on the road traveling to virtually every part of the world. The practice has led critics to charge that most of the time the bank is without direction.

The four senators have criticized Mr. Moore's approval of a controversial low-interest loan to an Australian airline owned by Rupert Murdoch, publisher of The New York Post.

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## Japanese Seek to Export High-Technology

TOKYO, June 23 (AP-DJ) — After years of being the world's largest importers of foreign technology, which they often adapted and improved, the Japanese are starting to export their own technology. Moreover, Japan's technology exports are at the cutting edge of the country's extensive efforts to overhaul its industrial structure.

An extraordinary joint venture between Japan's government and business has been encouraging high-technology industries while phasing out noncompetitive sectors. As this restructuring proceeds, most analysts agree, Japanese companies will become increasingly competitive in computers, telecommunications, microelectronics, quality steel, specialty chemicals, energy-conservation equipment and precision machinery.

Japan still has a long way to go. Exports of technology remain a trickle compared with total exports, and Japanese companies continue to import much more technology than they send overseas. But if analysts' predictions hold true and the trend continues, nations that have been buying Japanese cars, ships, steel and other basic products can expect an onslaught of high-technology products.

Fewer Patents In the vanguard are companies such as Hitachi, Japan's largest maker of electronic machinery and electronic equipment. Last year, Hitachi ranked fifth among all companies worldwide in the number of patents issued in the United States. Between 1970 and 1979, it halved its payments for foreign patents and licenses, to the current equivalent of \$20 million last year. Its income last year from selling its own patents and licenses was \$14 million, up from only \$3 million in 1970.

For several years, other Japanese companies have been licensing their technology to developing countries. For example, steel mills in Taiwan, shipbuilding factories in South Korea and desalinization plants in the Middle East.

That technology has been largely related to heavy-industrial production, which requires many workers. Recently, however, the Japanese have also been scoring gains and making sales at the high-technology end of the industrial spectrum.

"Till now the Americans have been unquestioned world leaders in integrated circuits," reported the Economist, the British news magazine. "Now the Japanese may actually be ahead in some areas."

Robot Superiority Another area in which the Japanese are widely regarded as having technological superiority is industrial robots. To create its robots and other new technology, Japan has been spending more money on research and development.

Of Japan's trillion-dollar-plus gross national

product, 1.7 percent goes for research and development, and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry wants to raise that to 3 percent by the end of the decade. In non-defense research and development spending, Japan ranks second in the world behind West Germany, with a growth rate that is the fastest among advanced nations.

Still, Japan's spending on research and development undoubtedly suffers from various bans on defense-related projects. Since the nation's defeat in World War II, public and political opposition to increasing Japan's military power has been substantial.

Therefore, says Masashi Kaminura, an official in the government's agency for industrial science and technology, "our military R&D is much, much lower than in the U.S." — where defense projects form an integral part of research and development with many Pentagon contracts resulting in commercial applications.

There are other problems. Despite their progress in technology, the Japanese still are accused of being copycats. For example, a U.S. executive electronics company says the Japanese are "the world's best at improving what they find, but we still haven't seen a great deal of innovating."

However valid such observations, Japan's industry and government clearly are seeking to advance their national technological base.

On the other hand, only six product categories out of the 18 listed in the May statistics on imports from the EEC show increases, which, however, are far smaller than gains in exports. Imports of chemical products rose 6.1 percent to \$22.1 billion, but those of medicines, for instance, went up only 5.6 percent;

business machinery 9.2 percent and precision machinery 4.8 percent. The imports of a number of products from the EEC went down sharply in the month. Those of textile materials plunged 70.3 percent, metal materials 49.3 percent, metal processing machinery 27.5 percent, and autos 6.2 percent.

Despite today's cut in the prime rate, analysts said the recent rapid fall in interest rates has slowed considerably. They said the market rise primarily represented an effort to catch up by institutions that missed the earlier advance.

Interest rates in the credit market rose, partly in response to comments from Alfred Kahn, chairman of the wage and price council, that

the consumer price index for May, due tomorrow, will show about the same gain as April's 0.9 percent rise.

Among the oils, active Mobil rose 1 1/2 to 73 1/2, Exxon 1/2 to 68 1/2, Standard Oil of California 1/2 to 77 1/2, and Fluor 2 1/2 to 67 1/2.

Chrysler eased 1/4 to 7. With the last of the hold-out banks agreeing to accept the financial rescue package, its offer of \$500 million of 10-year notes was priced at par with a 10.35-percent coupon. The offer begins tomorrow.

The Dow Jones industrial average added 4.10 points to close at

873.81 and advances led declines four to three as turnover slowed to 34 million shares from 36.53 million Friday.

Exports of automobiles increased 42.4 percent to \$263.8 million while those of television sets went up 27.9 percent to \$17.2 million. Exports of some other products show even faster rates of growth. Tape recorders gained a steep 71.6 percent from the year before; ships, 52 percent and motorcycles, 43.2 percent.

Passenger car output totaled 580,457 units, down 5.7 percent from the prior month but up 7.8 percent from the previous year. Truck production totaled 319,118 units, down 6.6 percent from April but up 12.2 percent from May, 1979.

Association officials attributed the drop mainly to fewer business days in May because of national holidays.

The U.S. administration was particularly anxious to seek terms closer to current market conditions, conference sources said.

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## Security for Banks Supported in Venice

VENICE, June 23 (AP-DJ) — Leaders of the industrialized world meeting at the Venice economic summit today endorsed efforts by central banks and the Bank for International Settlements to improve the security of international banking in the face of large petrodollar flows and, in a new move, suggested that the commercial banks themselves could supplement the process.

The final communiqué of the summit said "we look to the international capital market to continue to play the primary role in rechanneling the substantial oil surplus funds on the basis of sound lending standards."

Picking up an idea first put forward by Wilfried Guth, chairman of Deutsche Bank, he suggested the possibility of a "safety net" for private banks operating in international markets.

Although details of the proposal have not been elaborated, it is understood that it would be a sort of insurance plan against large-scale defaults by borrowers.

The summit did not come up with any new ideas for recycling surplus petrodollars to countries in need of balance of payments financing.

European industry, he said, feared "the possibility of new orders drying up this summer." This, the spokesman said, could widen the EEC's already large trade deficit with the United States. The EEC, the spokesman said, considered Mr. Carter's response adequate.

Private lending will need to be supplemented by an expanded role for international institutions, especially the International Monetary Fund," the communiqué said, encouraging the IMF to seek ways, "within its guidelines on conditionality," to make it more attractive for countries with financing problems to use its resources.

The communiqué also urged oil exporting countries to increase their direct lending to countries with financial problems, thus reducing the strain on other recycling mechanisms.

After endorsing the BIS effort to better supervise international banking, the communiqué said "the private banks could usefully supplement these efforts." This insertion came after Chancellor Helmut Schmidt issued a strong warning on the first day of the two-day event that the Eurocurrency markets were threatened by the new recycling requirements.

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The communiqué also urged oil







Even If Output Drops

Saudi Sees Direct Oil-Sale Rise

LONDON, June 23 (AP-DJ) — Saudi Arabia's oil production is expected to increase even if output drops, the head of the Saudi state-owned oil company, said.

Abdullah Thamer, governor of the Saudi state-owned oil company, said, "If production goes down, our oil sales will not be affected."

Thamer said that Saudi Arabia's oil production is expected to increase even if output drops, the head of the Saudi state-owned oil company, said.

Traditionally, these companies have taken most of Aramco's output. During Aramco's high rates of production, the four companies have taken as much as 8-million barrels a day or more. The Saudi government prohibits the Aramco shareholders from discussing production levels or their share in the output. But Mr. Thamer confirmed that their shares are dropping.

"Aramco companies are getting 1 million barrels a day," he said. "But that isn't a commitment," he added. "These are working arrangements."

For Petromin's share, he said, "There isn't a ceiling nor a floor."

The balance of Aramco's output, about 500,000 barrels a day, goes for Saudi domestic use.

Mr. Thamer, who holds ministerial rank and is an Aramco director, was interviewed at a London energy conference sponsored by the International Herald Tribune and by the Oil Daily, a U.S.-based industry trade publication.

Mr. Thamer was asked what he thought the price would be a year from now for Arab light, Saudi Arabia's main grade of oil that serves as

the benchmark crude for the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Mr. Thamer indicated that he expects the price will go up as much as the inflation rates plus "a reasonable" 1 or 2 percent. "It is hard to make a prediction, but maybe [the price will reach] \$34 or \$35 a barrel," he said.

**Soft Market**

Saudi Arabia's crude oil is priced at \$28 a barrel, although the recent OPEC meeting in Algeria agreed to allow the benchmark price to rise "up to a ceiling of \$32 a barrel."

Saudi Arabia has not yet decided whether or when it might go up to that level, Mr. Thamer indicated.

But, he said, "we are betting on a soft market. If our bet proves to be correct, I don't expect the \$32 will be reached" by the time a special OPEC meeting on prices is held in the late summer or early fall. "By September," Mr. Thamer said, "we hope to have [pricing] reunification. Whatever price is agreed on then will be the base price."

One reason that Petromin's sales will increase is that the state-owned company will distribute the so-called "incentive" oil to be sold to foreign companies participating in joint-venture export refineries and petrochemical plants in Saudi Arabia, Mr. Thamer said. "We may start incentive sales next year," he said. All the Aramco companies are expected to be participants in the joint ventures, a development that might help them offset possible further declines of crude going to them as Aramco shareholders.

A Barrel of Oil Is Nothing More Than a Measure

WASHINGTON, June 23 (UPI) — The oil barrel, a source of measurement whenever the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries decides to raise prices of its crude, does not really exist.

But if it did, it would hold 42 gallons.

The standard barrel is merely an arbitrary unit of measure, Henry Lartigue Jr., Exxon's public affairs manager, said yesterday. "It's a holdover from the infancy of the oil business," he explained. "Oil is not shipped in 42-gallon units."

In fact, the standard barrel may never have existed, at least in the same literal sense as the ubiquitous 55-gallon drum. In the early oil days, customers carried their purchases away in their own barrels, which probably varied widely in size, Mr. Lartigue said.

In 1866, some West Virginia producers decided to end the confusion by agreeing to sell "no crude oil by the barrel or package, but by the gallon only. An allowance of two gallons will be made on the gauge of each and every 40 gallons in favor of the buyer," they decided.

Thus the 42-gallon "barrel" was born, although the 55-gallon drum became the standard container. Today, large quantities of oil — like Saudi Arabia's production — are regularly measured in mythical barrels.

Economic Boom Brings Italy to the Brink

By Nicholas Bray

ROME, June 23 (Reuters) — In its own wayward fashion, Italy has been enjoying a strong economic boom in the last few months.

While other big industrial economies slacken or sink into recession, industrial production here has been soaring. For the second year running, Italy expects to have the highest economic growth rate in the European Economic Community.

This might comfort national pride, but it has its inconveniences for the balance of payments, which has swung sharply into the red, and for the lira.

Imports have shot up 45.9 percent in lira terms in the first four months of 1980 compared with January-April, 1979, and debate about a possible devaluation of the lira has raged for weeks in the press.

cent, well above the 1.5 percent average predicted for the EEC, the present high level of business activity looks transitory.

The boom growth of 7 percent in annual terms during the first half of this year has been unexpectedly strong.

But a minus 4.2 percent downturn is being forecast for the second half as oil price increases and effects of the U.S. recession begin to bite.

Signs that Italy's lagged boom might be turning into a recession are already emerging.

Fiat has had to limit car output to ease stocks. Montedison is closing some plastics plants because of

low demand, and the state telephone company SIP has canceled an investment program, threatening 30,000 jobs.

On the export front, rising prices are hitting sales of textiles, clothing and furniture, three of the main currency earners on Italy's trade account last year.

An inflation rate of more than 20 percent, only partly offset by the gradual depreciation of the lira permitted by the Bank of Italy, has severely reduced the competitiveness of Italian industry.

In its favor, as it takes its time to act, the government has substantial currency reserves, a tight monetary policy, and the expectation of another summer of record currency earnings from tourism.

But trade expectations of a possible devaluation of the lira have turned leads and lags against Italy, prompting the Bank of Italy to spend an estimated \$500 million in the first half of June to defend the lira.

The latest oil price rises will add a new burden to Italy's current account, expected to show a deficit of \$4 to \$5 billion this year. All in all, next autumn will once again be the lira's test period, and an eventual exchange-rate adjustment could possibly come with a general realignment of the European Monetary System.

Confidential U.S. Studies Transfer Big Oil Aids OPEC

WASHINGTON, June 23 (NYT) — Confidential State Department studies concluding that the national oil companies are the effectiveness of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in maintaining an effective cartel have been made public.

House subcommittee chairmen documents were internal and do not represent an official position.

An assessment made in 1976 by the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, was titled "OPEC: History and Prospects." After examining the role of both the companies and the report said the following:

"Because of their vertical organization, the international oil companies are important to the survival. These companies are a cartel-like marketing system that allows easy passage of crude-oil price increases. Also provide crucial expertise in national oil companies operating effectively."

"Despite the erosion of their position in producing countries, the national oil companies are unlikely to take any action aimed at ending the cartel. They are too dependent on OPEC for secure supply to feed their downstream interests."

"Other report by the same prepared in July, 1977, said: 'The reliance on the multinational companies as a vital link in oil price-supporting cartel. As members use the multinational companies, the cartel guards against price erosion.'"

The report added, "If OPEC continues to market most crude oil through the multinational companies, the threat to oil is fairly low."

The documents came to light during an investigation into the operations of the major oil companies being conducted by the Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs, headed by Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal, D-N.Y.

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A spokesman for the American Petroleum Institute, a trade group, declined comment on the report, saying that he had not seen them.

Soviet Gold Sales Cut Back in '79, Report Reveals

LONDON, June 23 (AP-DJ) — The Soviet Union sharply reduced its gold sales to the West in 1979 and has cut back further this year, Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd. says in its annual report on the metal.

This restraint was during a period that saw the price of gold soar to a peak of \$854 an ounce as buyers in the Middle East entered the market after President Carter froze Iranian assets and a feeling of serious political uncertainty gripped the region.

Subsequently, the price plummeted to as low as \$474 an ounce in March this year as many operators liquidated their positions at a time of turmoil in the silver market, the report noted.

Nevertheless, the world's gold markets last year were supplied with a record amount of gold, with sharply higher official sales, principally by the U.S. Treasury and the International Monetary Fund, making up for both the Soviet shortfall and a decline in supplies of newly mined gold from South Africa, the world's largest producer, and other countries. The annual report on gold by Consolidated Gold Fields is considered to be the best in the business and is often used as a reference source by professionals.

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Aid to Business, Inflation Plan Is Urged by Agnelli

TURIN, June 23 (AP-DJ) — A devaluation of the lira and restoration of management prerogatives to fire and transfer employees are the only ways to restore Italian export competitiveness, according to Umberto Agnelli, vice chairman and president of Fiat, Italy's largest private company.

In an interview with the respected left-leaning daily La Repubblica over the weekend, Mr. Agnelli added that devaluation by itself would greatly damage the Italian economy unless it were accompanied by a strict government program to cut inflation.

The executive made his remarks as the government prepared to announce its new economic program before the end of the month. The plan is seen as shifting priorities toward helping business by possibly eroding some past union gains on wages and benefits.

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Deep-Water Oil Discovery Seen as Boon for Ireland

DON, June 23 (Reuters) — Ireland's oil industry may have reached a turning point in the development of a large offshore oil field, a study said. The study, by British Petroleum, said that a discovery by British Petroleum in the Porcupine Basin could contain 200 million to 300 million barrels.

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Revenue, Profits in Millions. Expenses, unless otherwise indicated

Company	1979	1978
Staatsforsting Group	4,650	3,510
	85.0	38.0
Germany		
Ford Werke	10,910	10,480
	483.0	549.3



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ly be increased again after has been raised by 24 percent in 1971.



Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street

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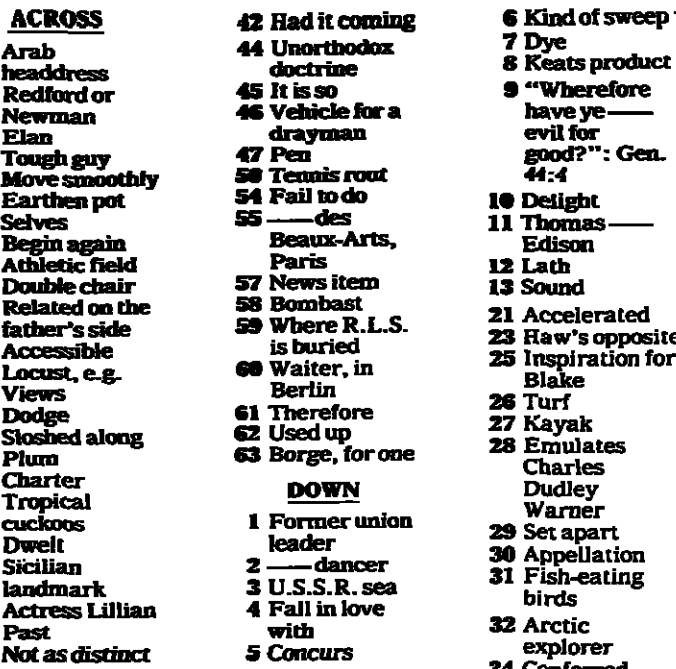
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**By Eugene T. Maleska**

[illegible][illegible]

**ORANGE PARK, Fla., June 23 (UPI)**— Fifty years ago, someone drove a Model A Ford from New York to Los Angeles and back in reverse gear. The trip took 43 days.

An auto repair shop owner, Bruce Taylor, is ready to challenge the record. He plans to set out on July 4 for California in his "Dyslexia," a 1974 Peugeot diesel converted into a backward-driving car at a cost of \$30,000.

To make his car legal on interstate highways, Mr. Taylor tore out the back seat, turned the front seat around, switched lights from front to back and modified the transmission to give him four speeds in reverse and one speed forward.

He and his wife, Debra, figure to make the trip in 15 days, if they can

persuade police departments along the way that what they are doing is legal.

## Drug Squads Arrest 8,875 U.S. Soldiers

**HEIDELBERG, West Germany, June 23 (UPI)**— U.S. military drug squads, aided by West German police, have arrested 8,875 soldiers in the Army's largest campaign against GI drug abuse, an Army spokesman said.

About 1,400 pounds of marijuana and hashish and 165 pounds of heroin were seized last year, he said.

The crackdown on drug use was started in 1978 after a congressional investigation showed that 51 percent of U.S. soldiers in Europe used drugs both on and off duty.

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**Top Row: Schmuckle Ball**

- Panel 1: HEY, PITCHER, WHY DON'T YOU GIVE THIS GUY THE OL' SCHMUCKLE BALL?
- Panel 2: SCHMUCKLE BALL?
- Panel 3: JUST SORT OF SCHMUSH YOUR KNUCKLES AROUND THE BALL LIKE THIS AND THEN THROW IT AS HARD AS YOU CAN...
- Panel 4: NOT YET...WAIT 'TIL I GET OUT OF THE WAY!
- Panel 5: (Character in cap 1) (Character in cap 2)
- Panel 6: (Character in cap 1) (Character in cap 2)

**Bottom Row: Sayings**

- Panel 1: WHAT CAN I SAY TO A DEAR FRIEND WHO'S JUST GONE THROUGH A PAINFUL DIVORCE?
- Panel 2: 'TIS BETTER TO HAVE LOVED AND LOST THAN NEVER TO HAVE LOVED AT ALL!
- Panel 3: WHAT CAN I SAY WITHOUT SOUNDING LIKE A COMPLETE IDIOT?
- Panel 4: (Character in cap 1) (Character in cap 2)
- Panel 5: (Character in cap 1) (Character in cap 2)
- Panel 6: (Character in cap 1) (Character in cap 2)

SURE SEEMS LIKE A LONG TIME SINCE ANYBODY GOT A PACKAGE OF COOKIES AND STUFF FROM HOME

6-24

MORT WALKER

OPENLY

CRUNCH CRUNCH CRUNCH

YOU'RE BACK EARLY. WHAT HAPPENED?

I WAS STUCK UP IN THE BOAT AN' FELL OVERBOARD.

TRUST YOU TO BE STANDIN' UP!

WHAT HE SE COULD'E DO IF YOU SIT DOWN SOMEON MIGHT HAS YOU AN OAR.

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HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH SIR RODNEY?

PLUTONIC

WHAT'S THAT MEAN?

LIKE DATING MICKEY MOUSE'S DOG

G. Shandling

Panel 1: A woman with blonde hair is on the phone, looking stressed. She says: "YOU—YOU WON'T HAVE TO CALL ME BACK, JUSTIN! I GUESS WHAT I HAD TO SAY WASN'T VERY IMPORTANT."

Panel 2: Bart Simpson is on the phone, looking thoughtful. He says: "WELL, I APPRECIATE THE INFORMATION! PERHAPS WE CAN DISCUSS IT AGAIN IN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO!"

Panel 3: Bart Simpson is on the phone, looking frustrated. He says: "SOME OF THESE HUCKSTERS PICK THE STRANGEST TIMES TO MAKE A SALES PITCH!"

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Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

**ENKLE**

□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □

**ODMI**

□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □

**REFERT**

□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □

**ASTUNE**

□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □

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**WHAT NAVY CHAPLAINS ARE ALSO EXPECTED TO KNOW HOW TO DO, IN ADDITION TO EVERYTHING ELSE.**

*C-24*

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

"WELL, WHAT DO YA WANT ME TO DO? TELL RUFF TO MAKE HIS EQUENTS WAIT OUTSIDE IN THE RAIN?"

## SHRINKING HISTORY

DAVID E. STANNARD, a professor of American Studies at the University of Hawaii and author of "Death in America" and "The Putian Way of Death," says that his business is to debunk "psychohistory"—from Erik Erikson to Bruce Madhaff—as a shoddy piece of intellectual goods. In fact, "Shinking History" is a rude attack on psychoanalytic theory in almost every particular.

Stannard is not content to agree with W.H. Auden that Freud is "no more a person/Now but a whole climate of opinion," nor with Lionel Trilling that psychoanalysis is "the slang of our culture." He goes all the way with P.B. Medawar: "Psychoanalytic theory is the most stupendous intellectual confidence trick of the 20th century and a terminal product as well — something akin to a dinosaur or zepplin in the history of ideas, a vast structure of radically unsound design and with no posterity."

His method is to review each particular—Oedipus complex, castration anxiety, reaction-formation, repression, sublimation, projection, denial, displacement, anal-eroticism and so on—and submit it to seven questions: Is it true? Is it repeatable? Is it logical according to those standards of proof decreed by the Anglo-American positivists? Is it scientific in the way that a behaviorist would understand science—susceptible to replicated experiments in the laboratory? Does it contribute to an understanding of human nature or human history?

His answer to every one of these questions, on every one of these particulars, with the possible exception of psychosexual development, is "no." There is no rational evidence that psychoanalysis does any more good for a patient than any number of other therapies, nor that it does much better than just leaving the patient alone and relying on spontaneous remission would have done.

Certainly, he says, the theory is illogical, and every defense of it is circular—one might even say hostile or defensive. It is, as well, time-bound (the 20th century) and culture-bound (Europe and America), a voodoo for the post-industrial ages. Consequently, Stannard has established to Stannard's satisfaction that perception itself, not to mention ethics and various other values, is a function of cultural influence, the pervasive milieu. Historians who are not psycho have likewise established that people really were different in, say, the Middle Ages, before the invention of "personality," from what we are now, which is sad.

Obviously, if psychoanalytic theory is therapeutically useless, scientifically unsound, logically inconsistent and culturally warped today, right now, when the analyst may be presumed to have some acquaintance with his patient, then psychohistory is a fraud presuming to read the unconscious minds of the long-dead and forever-silent, presuming to mine the secrets of their toilet training, seeking to impose a hodgepodge of modern fantasies on helpless, unfathomable creatures. Stannard has some brusque fun with Freud's monograph on De Vinci—the culture was actually a kite, Caterina was probably Leonardo's servant instead of his mother and, anyway, Leonardo seems to have lived with his father from the beginning—and, although he is kinder to Erikson, he roughs him up, too.

Much of "Shinking History" is true, although not so much of it is new; we have been here before, while not perhaps with such vehemence. And much of psychohistory is irresponsible. "I am dead," I can shriek, however, by the omniscience they are conceived—the interpretation of dreams, the pleasure principle, the death instinct—and Stannard excises himself by pointing out that these concepts do not pertain to the writing of history. They do, however, pertain to an evaluation of Freud.

And the omissions are also literary, or imaginative. Here we must come to grips with Stannard's disdain of metaphor. Metaphor, for him, is reductive; for many of us it is liberating. We look at society or history or our children through the binoculars of such epic poets as Freud and Marx. The world changes; it is more complicated and suggestive; curiosity drives us into the unknown, beyond the complacencies of the logical positivists. In the unknown, we find danger and beauty, tragedy and ghosts, a richness of subtlety, an invisible writing.

Are we merely being led astray? Had Erikson nothing new and important to say about Luther and Gandhi, or Michael Rogin about Andrew Jackson, or Michael Kammen about the American frontier? Stannard would lamp-Freud with the astrologists: I find art and even music beyond testing, seen or heard through one of the many windows of history cannot be talked about in his preface to *The Portrait of a Lady*.

John Leonard is on the staff of *The New York Times*.

*The Man and the Cause*

By Ronald W. Clark. Random House. Illustrated. 652 pp. \$19.95.  
Reviewed by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt

OF course there's the new material on Freud that has come to light since publication of Ernest Jones' three-volume official biography, completed in 1957: the circumstances of his childhood that may possibly explain his misreading of Leonardo's psychobiography. The two sources of his nationality in America. What Jones neglected to tell about the truth behind "the dream of Irma's injection," the most prominent of the examples in "The Interpretation of Dreams." The genesis in Freud's self-analysis of the famous Oedipus complex. A month-by-month chronology of the events leading up to the dramatic break with Carl Jung. Hitherto unavailable material that Freud's doctor, Max Schur, drew upon for a medical history of the last 10 years of Freud's life. These are just a few of the items that make Ronald Clark's "Freud: The Man and the Cause" worth reading.

It is not just the mass of Freud's discoveries of psychoanalysis and the unconscious that makes such enthralling reading. Even more compelling is the material on what Clark calls the "expansion and the consolidation of the psychoanalytic empire" — the spreading of the word and the winnowing of the disciples. Indeed it is only in the last of the book's four sections, "The Freudian Age," that the narrative succumbs to chronological drift. And even here the parts are absorbing enough to sustain the whole.

Clark is particularly useful about this because the opportunity it provides us to return to Freud's original thoughts and utterances, especially now that so much nonsense has been enunciated in his name. Yes, it is true that he suffered from a culture-bound disdain for women, which Clark pungently sums up in an assessment of the discomfort Freud must have felt while translating a volume of John Stuart Mill. And true, he was guilty

of mishandling the tools of psychobiography, though Clark reminds us that he soon became aware of his error, that in the first place he had no "study" of Leonardo as "only a possibility," and that it was he himself who first foresaw and warned against the dangers of applying psychoanalysis to history and biography.

But how many of us know that Freud was a strong proponent of lay analysis, provided of course that the patient was directed to the lay therapist in question by a medical analyst? How many are aware of Freud's extremely conservative views on the education of children? And how many readers will be surprised at Freud's pronouncement two years before his death that "the validity of psychoanalytic findings and theories" is not "definitely established," but "actually" has "not yet been properly tested, repeated verification, and confirmation"? As Clark makes clear, Freud knew very well that if proofs of his discoveries lay anywhere at all, they lay in a very misty future. He had no Eddington to measure the deviation of the Id's energy under the influence of the Ego. For the sake of his truth he had to propagate it on faith.

Is that faith now fact? Though Clark avers that had Freud accomplished nothing more than his discoveries of infantile sexuality and the unconscious his fame would have been assured, he concedes that much of the rest of Freud's theory is still in dispute and will remain until psychology eventually joins hands with physiology. Still, whether psychoanalysis eventually turns out to be a science or a metaphor, its discoverer remains a bit of very large proportions, and most appealing and human of the heroes in the bargain.

Christopher Lehmann-Haupt is on the staff of *The New York Times*.

*By Alan Truscel*

ON the diagonized deal, East opened one club and South jumped to four hearts. East re-opened with a double that would be regarded as a take-out move: by most experts. He passed his partner's bid of four spades when he might well have doubled for a two- or three-trick defeat. As it was, South tried five diamonds.

North reverted to hearts, an unusual preference action that was reasonable when his partner had indicated a dominant heart suit. East doubled, and West had to make a crucial lead. If he had reached wood a spade or a diamond, East would have taken the first three tricks, but he led his partner's club suit. South gratefully discarded his spade jack on the club ace and made his doubled contract. After cashing the heart ace he reached his hand with a club ruff, drew the remaining trumps and led the diamond queen.

The favorable diamond situation was all he needed.

**NORTH**  
 ♠ 106532  
 ♥ A  
 ♦ 7843  
 ♣ A86

**WEST (D)**  
 ♠ Q974  
 ♥ 1065  
 ♦ J2  
 ♣ 10763

**EAST**  
 ♠ AK8  
 ♥ Q42  
 ♦ AK  
 ♣ KQJ952

**SOUTH**  
 ♠ J  
 ♥ KQJ873  
 ♦ Q10855  
 ♣ —

Neither side was vulnerable. The bidding:

West	North	East	South
Pass	Pass	1♣	4♥
Pass	Pass	5♦	Pass
4♣	Pass	Pass	5♦
Pass	5♥	Dbl.	Pass
Pass	Pass		

West led the club three.



## A Triumph for the Sport

## Sunday's Line Scores



